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HISTORY OF THE LANGOBARDS

BY

PAUL THE DEACON

TRANSLATED BY

WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE, LL.D.

With Explanatory and Critical Notes, a Biography of the Author, and an Account of the Sources of the History

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PREFACE.

MOMMSEN declares that Paul the Deacon's history of Italy, from the foundation of Rome to the beginning of the time of the Carlovingians, is properly the stepping-stone from the culture of the ancient to that of the modern world, marking the transition and connecting both together; that the Langobards upon their immigration into Italy not only exchanged their own language for that of their new home, but also adopted the traditions and early history of Rome without, however, abandoning their own; that it is in good part this fact which put the culture of the modern world upon the road on which it moves to-day; that no one has felt this in a more living manner than Paul, and that no one has contributed so much through his writings to secure for the world the possession of Roman and Germanic tradition by an equal title as did this Benedictine monk when, after the overthrow of his ancestral kingdom, he wrote its history as part of the history of Italy.[1]

Whatever therefore were his limitations as an author, the writings of Paul the Deacon mark an epoch. They constitute the first step toward the making of modern history, and give him the right to be reckoned as a kind of humbler Herodotus of mediæval times. And in fact, although he is for the most part a compiler and without

[1] Neues Archiv., V, p. 53.

great originality, his work recalls in several ways the characteristics of the "Father of History." It contains a priceless treasure of legends and quaint tales, having their source, not indeed in Hellenic, Persian, Lydian or Egyptian traditions, but in sagas like those of the Norsemen, and it is written with a naive and picturesque charm that must commend it greatly to the lovers of literary curiosities. Paul has something of the gossipy nature of Herodotus, and although without gross superstition, he has much of the simple credulity and fondness for the marvelous which add to the attractiveness, while they detract from the authority of the work of his great Greek predecessor. As a veracious historian, Paul is perhaps not much better nor worse than the average of the monastic chroniclers of the time, for although he is a man of extensive learning, and although he gives us everywhere proofs of his good faith, and even of his impartiality in respect to the struggles between his own people and their enemies, he has not that critical judgment which the requirements of modern history demand.

Paul the Deacon was one of the best known authors of the Middle Ages. This is shown by the great number of the manuscripts of his works which still exist, by the abundant use made of them by subsequent authors, and by the early editions that appeared shortly after the invention of printing and indeed all through the 16th and 17th centuries.[1] But amid the more stirring events

[1] Waitz (M. G. SS. Rer. Langob., p. 28 *et. seq.*) gives a list of these manuscripts and editions.

of modern times his work became to a large extent overlaid and forgotten. Muratori published Paul's "History of the Langobards" in the first volume of his Italian series in 1723, but it remained for German scholarship to bring it again to the attention of the world and to subject it to critical treatment in the way its importance deserved. Dr. Bethmann during the early part of the last century began an investigation of Paul's works which extended over a great portion of his life.[1] He examined and compared a vast number of manuscripts, traveling for this purpose through various parts of Germany, Holland, Belgium, France and Italy, but died before his edition of the "History of the Langobards" was given to the press. His work was completed by Waitz in 1876 in the "Monumenta Germaniæ" in an edition in which one hundred and seven manuscripts are referred to and compared, and in which most of the sources of the history are referred to in appropriate foot-notes. In the same year Dahn published a painstaking criticism of Paul's life and writings in his "Langobardische Studien." A complete discussion by Dr. R. Jacobi of the sources from which Paul derived his history appeared in the following year, 1877, which for thoroughness and accuracy is a model of German scholarship Mommsen followed in 1879 with an able criticism of some of the most important features of Paul's work, published in the Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, Vol. V., p. 53. Some of his views as to the sources from which Paul

[1] Waitz (p. 12).

had taken his history were contested by Waitz in a subsequent number of the Archiv in the same year, as well as by Schmidt in his monograph "Zur Geschichte der Langobarden." Further investigations were made concerning the "Origo Gentis Langobardorum," one of Paul's sources, by Brückner, Koegel, Kraus and others.

The "History of the Langobards" has been translated into German, French and Italian, but I was greatly surprised, when investigating some matters connected with the early history of Venice, in the Marcian library of that city, to find that no English version existed. Mr. Thomas Hodgkin, in Vols. V and VI of "Italy and Her Invaders," does indeed make liberal extracts, but the work is one which, from its importance, ought to be presented to English readers entire, hence this translation. I have prefixed to it an account of Paul's life and writings, with a historical and literary estimate of his work, and the translation is accompanied by explanatory notes. Waitz's text has been used.[1]

In Appendix I there is a brief discussion concerning the ethnological status of the Langobards. In Appendix II an account is given of the sources from which Paul derived his history. Appendix III contains Paul's poems in honor of St. Benedict, which are found in the original text of Paul's history, but have no proper connection therewith and have therefore been placed in the Appendix. They are altogether omitted in the German and

[1] There is a more recent text by Giuseppi Vettach (Archeografo Triestino, 1898–99) based upon the Friulan MS. at Cividale. As this MS. is incomplete, it seemed better to follow Waitz's edition, which is an admirable one, and based upon all the MS.

Italian translations I have consulted, perhaps from the difficulty of rendering them in any intelligible form. The second book of the "Dialogues of Gregory the Great," however, gives the key to their meaning. I am quite conscious that the verses into which they have been rendered are not poetry, but insist that in this respect, as in others, my version follows the original pretty closely. They are only inserted from a desire to make the translation complete.

I have endeavored everywhere to keep as near the text as the essential differences between the two languages will allow.

I desire to acknowledge the courtesy of Thomas Hodgkin, from whose history, "Italy and Her Invaders," I have copied with his permission the three maps first used in this work.

RICHMOND, IND., *Feb. 25, 1906.*

EXPLANATION OF REFERENCES.

In all explanatory notes as well as in the Introduction and the Appendices, the following abbreviations are used:

"Waitz" indicates the edition of "Pauli Historia Langobardorum" in "Monumenta Germaniae, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum," from which this translation is made, and unless otherwise stated, the matters referred to will be found in connection with the book and chapter (the page not being given) corresponding to those of this translation.

"Abel" refers to the German translation entitled "Paulus Diakonus und die übrigen Geschichtschreiber der Langobarden," by Dr. Otto Abel." (Second edition revised by Dr. Reinhard Jacobi, Leipsic, 1888; published as Vol. 15 of the series "Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit," and the matters referred to, unless otherwise stated, will be found either in the text or notes of the book and chapter corresponding to those of this translation.

"Giansevero" indicates the Italian translation entitled "Paolo Diacono, Dei Fatti de' Langobardi," by Prof. Uberti Giansevero (Cividale, 1899), and the matters referred to will be found in the book and chapter corresponding to those of this translation.

"Bethmann" unless otherwise stated refers to one of his articles, "Paulus Diakonus Leben." "Paulus Diakonus Schriften," "Die Geschichtschreibung der Langobarden," contained in the tenth volume of the "Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtkunde" (Hanover, 1849).

"Jacobi" refers to "Die Quellen der Langobardengeschichte des Paulus Diaconus. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte deutscher Historiographie," by Dr. R. Jacobi (Halle, 1877).

"Mommsen" to an article "Die Quellen der Langobardengeschichte des Paulus Diaconus" by Th. Mommsen in volume V,

p. 53, of the "Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde" (Hanover, 1879).

"Hartmann" to the second volume of "Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter," by Ludo Moritz Hartmann, being the 32d work of the series "Geschichte der europaischen Staaten," edited by Heeren, Ukert, Giesebrecht and Lamprecht (Gotha, 1903).

"Dahn" to "Paulus Diaconus," by Felix Dahn, Part I (Leipsic, 1876).

"Hodgkin" to "Italy and her Invaders," by Thomas Hodgkin (Clarendon Press, 1895).

"Zeuss" to "Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme," by Kaspar Zeuss (Göttingen, 1904).

"Schmidt" to "Zur Geschichte der Langobarden," by Dr. Ludwig Schmidt (Leipsic, 1885).

"Pabst" to "Geschichte des langobardischen Herzogthums" in Vol. II, p. 405, "Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte," (Göttingen, 1862.)

"Bruckner" to "Die Sprache der Langobarden," by Wilhelm Brückner (Quellen und Forschungen, Part 75, Strasburg, 1895).

"Koegel" to "Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur," by Rudolf Koegel, Vol. I, Part 1 (Strasburg, 1894).

"Wiese" to "Die aëlteste Geschichte der Langobarden," by Robert Wiese (Jena, 1877).

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INTRODUCTION.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF PAUL THE DEACON WITH A HISTORICAL AND LITERARY ESTIMATE OF HIS WORK.[1]

PAUL THE DEACON, sometimes called Paul Warnefried from the name of his father, belonged to a distinguished if not noble Langobard family[2] whose original founder Leupchis came from Pannonia to Italy with king Alboin, settled in the plain of Friuli[3] not far from Cividale[4] and left behind him at his death five sons who, while still young, were carried away into captivity on the occasion of the irruption of the Avars into the country about the year six hundred and ten.

[1] The greater part of what is known of the life of Paul the Deacon is set forth in an article by Dr. Ludwig Bethmann, published in the Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtkunde (Vol. X, p. 247, see p. 254). The sources from which the facts are taken are there given in great detail and with full analysis. The above account is mainly a condensed paraphrase of the most important portions of Bethmann's article. Where I have taken any statement from another source, that fact is mentioned in a note.

[2] Dahn, 3, 4.

[3] The epitaph of Paul declares that the ancestral estate lay upon the banks of the Timave (Waitz, p. 23).

[4] Dahn, 3, 8.

Four remained permanently in bondage, but Lopichis, the fifth, when he had reached the age of manhood, resolved to escape, and after many adventures returned to Italy.[1] There he found that his ancestral home was without a roof and full of briers and bushes, and that his inheritance was in the hands of strangers. With the help of relatives and friends he restored the house, yet he could not recover the rest of the father's property. He had a son Arichis, who was the father of Warnefried, and Warnefried by his wife Theudelinda, had a daughter who retired at an early age into a cloister, and two sons, Arichis and Paul.

Paul was born in Friuli[2] somewhere between the years 720 and 730.[3] He was educated probably[4] at the court of king Ratchis who reigned from 744 to 749, or at the ducal court of his father Pemmo somewhat before that time.[5] Paul speaks of Flavianus as his

[1] Paul's Hist. Langob., IV, 37 infra.

[2] It is probable but not certain that he was born in Cividale (Dahn, 8; Tamassia in Atti e Memorie del Congresso Storico in Cividale, 1899, p. 15).

[3] Bethmann (p. 255) places it at 730, earlier commentators (id, note) say 720; Waitz (p. 13), 720 to 725; Hodgkin (p. 71), about 725. The precise date is unknown.

[4] Uncertain however (Dahn, 9–10).

[5] The place of his education is uncertain. Bethmann (p. 255) thinks it was in Pavia. Abel (p. x) thinks it more probable it was at the ducal court of Ratchis or his father Pemmo in Cividale. His writings show an intimate knowledge of the affairs of the ducal family of that city (Tamassia in Atti e Memorie del Congresso Storico in Cividale, 1899, p. 15).

teacher[1] and the instruction he received must have been excellent, if it be judged by the wide scope of his attainments. Among other things he learned the Greek language.

At a later period we find evidences of his faithful attachment to Arichis, Duke of Benevento and his wife Adelperga, the daughter of Desiderius, the last Langobard king. In the spring or summer of 763, he wrote a poem in thirty-six trochaic lines giving the chronology of the different ages of the world and concluding with verses in honor of King Desiderius, of his son Adelchis and of the ducal pair.[2] It was written in the form of an acrostic and the initial letters of each verse spelled the words "Adelperga Pia." That this intercourse with the duke and duchess continued a long time appears from Paul's letter to Adelperga written several years later in which he speaks of his interest and participation in her studies.[3] He had recently given her to read the ten books of the Roman history of Eutropius, but as she complained that these were too short and contained nothing regarding the history of Christianity, Paul wrote for her one of his principal works, his "Roman History" in which he expanded Eutropius from other sources and in six additional books brought it down to the fall of the dominion of the Goths in Italy with the

[1] Felix the grammarian, the uncle of Flavianus, was an intimate friend of king Cuninepert. See Book VI, Ch. 7 infra.

[2] Waitz, 13; Dahn, 76.

[3] Dahn, 14 note. It seems probable that he was her instructor, perhaps at her father's court in Pavia (Atti e Memorie del Congresso Storico in Cividale, 1899, p. 18).

intention of continuing it at a later time down to his own days. With a letter which is a beautiful memorial to the pious and cultured princess, he gave her this work some time between the years 766 and 774[1] and the book (although of little importance to us now since its statements are taken almost wholly from other well-known sources)[2] became for nearly a thousand years a text-book of the history of the Empire of the West.

There has been attributed to Paul on doubtful authority,[3] a hymn in praise of John the Baptist, the protecting saint of the Langobards,[4] which has become widely celebrated and is still sung on June 24th of each year by the whole Catholic church. From the first syllable of each of the verses of this hymn, ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, Guido of Arezzo took the names for his notes, and the present system of musical solmisation had its origin here. It would seem from his writings that Paul had traveled considerably in Italy, for descriptions of things in Pavia, Bobbio, Monza, Asti, Rome and Benevento appear to be given from personal observation. These journeys (except the one to Rome) were probably taken before he became a monk.[5] It is not known when or where Paul received his consecration. Charle-

[1] Bethmann says between 766 and 781, but Mommsen (77 note) shows that this history was completed before 774, in which year Arichis exchanged his title of duke for that of prince. See also Dahn, 15.

[2] Dahn, 16.

[3] See article by Capetti (Atti e Memorie del Congresso Storico in Cividale, 1899, p. 68).

[4] Dahn, 18, 19.

[5] Dahn, 27, 28.

magne calls him a deacon in his circular written after 782[1] regarding the collection of homilies, and he so speaks of himself in his homily upon St. Benedict. Elsewhere he calls himself merely Paul, but among others he goes by the name of Paul the Deacon. It is uncertain when and why he became a monk,[2] but it was in all probability[3] at the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino, the most famous cloister of that time where his former patron, king Ratchis, was perhaps still living when Paul there took his vows. Only this is certain, that he became a monk before his journey to France, therefore before 782. It was either before this journey or during his sojourn in that kingdom that he wrote two poems in honor of St. Benedict and one in honor of St. Scolastica.[4] These poems, his sermon on St. Benedict and his letters show his devotion to the

[1] Probably about 786, Dahn, 21.

[2] It was very likely before he wrote this Roman history (Tamassia in Atti e Memorie del Congresso Storico in Cividale, 1899, p. 18).

[3] Dahn, 23.

[4] In the first of these poems Paul speaks of himself as "an exile, poor, helpless," which it is claimed he would hardly have done after he had become one of the favorites of Charlemagne, and these expressions add weight to the contention of Dahn that he probably entered the cloister as a refuge after the fall of the Langobard monarchy in 774 (Dahn, 23–26). Tamassia, however (Atti e Memorie del Congresso Storico in Cividale, 1899, pp. 21, 22), believes that his exile there mentioned refers to his involuntary detention at the court of Charlemagne, and that the favor he refers to in this distich is his return to his beloved monastery. The two poems to St. Benedict are given in Appendix III.

founder of the Order he had joined and his zeal in his monastic life.[1]

In the meantime Charlemagne had conquered the kingdom of Italy. Pavia had fallen in June, 774,[2] Desiderius, the last of the Lombard kings, had been made a prisoner and his son Adelchis had been forced to flee from the country.[3] Charlemagne had left as Duke of Friuli, one Hrodgaud, who afterwards rose in rebellion against him, but the king, entering Italy, quickly suppressed the revolt and returned home.[4] At the time of this insurrection, that is, about Easter, 776, it would seem that Charlemagne had taken prisoner Paul's brother Arichis, who was probably among the followers of Hrodgaud, and that the king had confiscated his property, so that his wife (as Paul says) "had to beg bread in the streets with trembling lips" for her four children.[5] In the seventh year of this imprisonment Paul addressed to the king an elegy beginning: "The words of thy servant," to move him to mercy, and in order to obtain his brother's release he also crossed the Alps and presented himself at the court of the monarch. There from the banks of the Moselle he wrote to Theudemar, the abbot of the monastery at Monte Cassino, on the 10th of January, probably in the year 783,[6] the following letter:

"To my master and father, dearest abbot Theudemar,

[1] Hodgkin, V, 72. [2] Dahn, 29.
[3] Eginhard's Annals, year 774.
[4] Id., 776. [5] Waitz, p. 15.
[6] Bethmann, p. 297. Contra Dahn, 31.

cherished with all my heart, your humble and devoted son Paul: [1]

"Although a great distance separates me from your companionship, a strong love for your society affects me which cannot be severed, and so great a desire for you and for my superiors and brothers torments me every moment that I cannot express it in the brief compass of a letter. For when I think of the time I devoted to holy things and the pleasant situation of my little cell; of your kindly sympathy; of the pious troop of so many champions of Christ eager in the service of God; of the shining examples of particular brothers in virtues of every kind; of our sweet converse on the excellencies of the heavenly kingdom, then a desire seizes me and I cannot keep back my tears. I live here among Catholics and good Christians. All receive me well; kindness is eagerly shown me for your sake and for that of our father Benedict; but in comparison with your cloister, the royal palace is a dungeon to me; compared with the calm of your monastery, life here is a stormy gale. This country keeps me only in my poor, weak body; with my whole soul, in which alone I am strong, I am with you. It seems to me that now I am listening to your delightful songs; now I am sitting in the refectory to be refreshed more by the reading than by the food; now I perceive the various occupations of each of you; now I see how it goes with the old and the sick; now I tread the holy threshold which is as dear to me as heaven. Believe me, my master and

[1] Waitz p. 16, Bethmann, 260 *et seq.*

father, believe me you holy and venerable band, I am kept here for a while only by a feeling of pity, only by the injunctions of love, only by the demand of the soul, and what is still more than all this, by the quiet power of our lord, the king. But as soon as I am healed and the Lord through our gracious sovereign shall take away from my prisoners the night of sorrow and the yoke of misery, I will straightway, as soon as I can obtain leave from our gracious prince, return to you without delay, and neither money, nor property, nor treasures of gold, nor the love of any man shall keep me from your company. I implore you therefore, sweetest father, and you, O dearest fathers and brothers, that our good father and teacher Benedict may procure it through his merit with Christ that I can return to you right soon. I trust indeed in our God, who never lets any one be cheated in good wishes, that he may restore me to you with fitting fruit for my toil[1] according to the desire of my longing heart. I do not need to write to you to pray for our sovereigns[2] and their army, since I know you are doing this unceasingly. Pray Christ also for the lord abbot,[3] by whose special kindness according to the royal grace I live here. Your number, my beloved ones, is so great that if I wished to mention you

[1] Probably this refers to the liberation of his brother, though the meaning is not clear (Dahn, 35 note).

[2] Charlemagne and his sons, Pepin and Louis, who were consecrated as kings at Easter, 781, in Rome.

[3] Probably abbot of St. Vincent or St. Arnulf in Metz, says Bethmann (p. 262, note). Dahn (p. 33) insists there is no evidence of this.

all one by one, this whole page would not suffice for your names. Wherefore I greet you all in common and pray you not to forget me. But I ask you, my master and venerable abbot, to write me concerning your welfare and that of the brothers, and what fortunes the present year has brought, and at the same time to send the names of the brothers who have been released from earthly fetters and have gone to Christ. For I hear that many of them have died, but especially ——, who, if it is really so, has taken with him no little part of my heart. Farewell, most holy father. Deign to remember your son."

"Now of the month of Janus the tenth full day was elapsing
When this letter was sent from the shore of the glassy Mosel,
Brothers and father dearest, infinite greetings I give you."[1]

Finally, the deliverance of the prisoners seems to have been obtained. A lively correspondence in verse between Paul and the king is shown in poems which have come down to us containing hints of jests, enigmas and occurrences now lost. In one of these Paul thanked the king and praised heaven that had let him see the light after the darkness. In his answer "Paule sub umbroso," Charlemagne[2] rejoices at this change in Paul's feelings, but declares that he has still left three questions unanswered, namely—whether he himself will bear heavy chains or lie in a hard dungeon, or go to the

[1] The verses are omitted in the letter as given by Dahn (79–81).

[2] In such correspondence the king was probably represented by some poet or grammarian of his court.

Northmen and convert their king Sigfrid, "the impious lord of a pestiferous realm," and "touch his forehead with sanctifying water."[1] Paul answers that as the Northmen know no Latin he will seem like a dumb beast to them and they no better to him than shaggy goats, but he has no fear, for if they know he comes with the name of Charlemagne protecting him, they will not dare lift a finger against him, and if Sigfrid refuses baptism Paul will drag him to the foot of Charlemagne's throne with his hands bound behind his back, nor will his gods Thonar and Waten (Thor and Wotan) be of any avail.[2] In another poem, "Cynthius occiduas," Paul relates to the king that a messenger was sent to him from the court the evening before with fiery arrows[3] from his old and dear friend Peter. Early in the morning he hastened to the court for the contest, but the shortness of the time did not allow him to retort suitably.[4] On the following morning, however, Peter would repent that he had treated his friend as an enemy. Evidently Peter of Pisa is meant, who appears to have been a kind of literary fag for Charlemagne.[5] Peter writes on another occasion to Paul, "Lumine purpureo," that a riddle had been proposed to him which he did not know how to solve; what his weak arms could not do, Paul, who was

[1] An embassy from Sigfrid seeking peace had come to Charlemagne in 782 (Dahn, 40–41).

[2] Hodgkin, V, 77.

[3] Meaning letters.

[4] See Dahn's explanation (43).

[5] Dahn believes that Peter's letter was a challenge to some sort of a contest, perhaps of improvised verses (42, 43).

"a great light upon the mountain," would accomplish. He, the mighty one in books who recently had been able to loose strong fetters (perhaps this refers to obtaining the freedom of the prisoners[1]) might also solve this riddle. Paul afterwards determined (probably at the king's earnest desire) to remain at least a considerable time in France. Charles expresses his great joy at this determination in a poem composed by Peter, "Nos dicamus,"[2] and deems himself happy that the most learned of poets and seers, a Homer in Greek, a Virgil in poetry, a Philo in Hebrew, a Tertullus in the arts, a Horace in the metrical art, a Tibullus in expression— that this man will strike his roots in the soil of his affection and no more turn his heart to his old home. He especially thanks Paul for the instruction in Greek which he is giving to so many, particularly the clergy who are soon to accompany his daughter Rotrud to Constantinople.[3] Thus a glory will be raised up for France which he the king had never hoped for before. Paul in his answer "Sensi cujus,"[4] modestly disclaims any right to these compliments. He knows very little, he says; he cannot offer treasures to the king, but only his good will; only the anchor of his love keeps him at court; he

[1] See Dahn, 44, however.

[2] Waitz (p. 17) gives this poem.

[3] Rotrud was betrothed in Rome on Easter 781 to the heir of the throne of Byzantium (Dahn, 46, 47). She was then only nine years old and her departure for Constantinople was to take place some years later. The match was broken off by Charlemagne in March, 787 (Dahn, 47, 48).

[4] Waitz, p. 18.

does not seek foolish glory in the sciences; if the clergy in Constantinople could not utter any more Greek than they had learned from him, they would stand there like dumb statues. Yet still, to show himself not quite unskilled in languages, he subjoins the translation of a Greek epigram that he remembers from his school days. On another occasion Paul, in a poem to the king which is now lost, expressed the wish that God might still add fifteen years to the term of his life, the same as to Hezekiah. Charles in his answer by the pen of his secretary Alcuin,[1] wishes Paul a prolongation of life for fifteen hours and makes merry with him that he first wanted to cut off the neck of his enemy with a sword and now could hold neither shield nor sword on account of his fear and old age.

We see from these and other poems how the king himself took part in the verses, jokes, riddles and contests with which the learned circle at his court amused itself. Charlemagne well understood how to draw service from the many-sided learning of Paul. Upon the king's command, Paul wrote epitaphs to Queen Hildegard, to her daughters Adelheid and Hildegard, and to Pepin's daughters, Adelheid and Rotaidis with which the king (probably in 783)[2] caused their graves in St. Arnulf at Metz to be decorated.[3] About this time also Paul gave to Charlemagne an extract from the work of Pompeius Festus "On the Signification of Words," and Mommsen well observes (p. 97) that among the char-

[1] Hodgkin, V, 77.
[2] Dahn, 48, 49.
[3] Abel, p. xvi; Waitz, p. 19.

acteristic traits of our remarkable scholar, it was not the least engaging that Paul took an interest, not merely in the Roman historians, but in the lexicon of the language and antiquities of Rome. A more important task was the collection and revision of the homilies of the fathers of the church which he made by order of the king, and which was possibly commenced about this time,[1] though not completed until after his return to Monte Cassino. Paul's collection has been in use for a thousand years in the whole Catholic church and it is easy to see what a profound influence he has had in this way not only upon the church but upon culture and literature.

It was after 783[2] that Paul wrote, upon the request of Angilram, Bishop of Metz[3] a history of the bishops of that diocese. In this work, which was written in the manner of the "Book of the Popes," he treats with special minuteness of detail of the family and ancestry of Charlemagne, and it is clear that his object is to justify the rise of the Carlovingians to the throne and to represent them as a legitimate sovereign house. Besides this work he

[1] Bethmann (p. 265) considers that this collection was written A. D. 783. Dahn (pp. 52, 53) followed by Waitz (p. 20) infers from the poem written to Charlemagne (see same page) that it was not finished until after Paul's return to the monastery of Monte Cassino and that it must have been written between 786 and 797 (Dahn, 54).

[2] After the marriage of Charles with Fastrada, says Abel (p. xvii) but before she had borne him any children. See also Dahn, 49, 50.

[3] Hist. Langob., infra VI, Ch. 16. Angilram died in 791 (Abel, p. xvii).

composed a catalogue of the bishops in short verse. Most of the time that Paul was in France he probbably spent at Dietenhofen[1] and Metz. Sometimes however he stayed for a while at other places, as in Poictiers in the cloister of St. Hilarius[2] where, at the request of the abbot Aper, he composed an epitaph on the poet Venantius Fortunatus.[3] When Paul was at Charlemagne's court he was lodged in a hospitium not far from the palace and was entertained by the king.[4]

But the longing for his own cloister forced him, after a few years, to abandon France, and in the summer of 787 we find him again in Benevento. He either crossed the Alps with the king in December 786, or he had already left France before this expedition. It was at Rome and possibly on his way to Monte Cassino that he composed a short biography of Gregory the Great,[5] though the date of that work is not certainly known.[6] On the 25th of August 787, shortly after his return to Benevento, his patron Arichis died. Paul celebrated his memory in a beautiful epitaph composed in distichs, a memorial which honors the faithful devotion of the poet as well as the prince.[7]

The respect and love which Paul enjoyed in the clois-

[1] Hist. Langob., infra I, 5. [2] Hist. Langob., II, 13.

[3] *Id.*

[4] Hodgkin, V, p. 76.

[5] Abel, XVII, Waitz, p. 22.

[6] It was some years before he wrote the third book of his History of the Langobards (III, 24 infra).

[7] This was written before the summer of 788 (Dahn, 55).

ter is testified by his pupil Hilderic in an epitaph which attributes to him piety, love, peaceableness, patience, simplicity, concord, in short, "every good quality at one and the same time." Charlemagne also repeatedly expresses his heartfelt affection and honor for the old man in the poems "Christe pater" and "Parvula rex Carolus." The king visited Monte Cassino in the spring of 787 and formed the project of improving monastic life in the Frankish kingdom from its example. Sometime after his return home[1] he asked the abbot Theudemar to give him for this purpose a copy of the "Rule of the Order" from Benedict's original manuscript, and also to send him the monk Joseph whom he desired to place at the head of his own model cloister. The abbot assigned to our Paul the duty of answering the king in the name of the monastery. It is said that this became the occasion for a detailed explanation of the Rule, which Paul composed at the request of the abbot and monks.[2] It was also after he returned to the cloister that he composed the sermons attributed to him, of which only four have been preserved,[3] as well as the last and most important work of his life "The History of the Langobards." When he gave his Roman History to Adelperga he had the design of bringing it down at a later period to his own time.[4] Other things had oc-

[1] Perhaps in 792 (see Dahn, 62).

[2] Dahn (62–63) disputes Paul's authorship of this work.

[3] The MSS. are described by Bethmann, (302). Dahn (71) considers the sermons not sufficiently authenticated.

[4] Abel, p. xix.

curred in the meantime. The fall of the Langobard kingdom had made a great change. Now in the evening of a long and active life, from the sun-lit heights of the quiet monastery, he thought again of his old plan and carried it out in an altered form as the history of his own people into which he interwove what seemed appropriate in the history of the Frankish kingdom and the Eastern empire.[1] But before its completion, death carried the old man away. The 13th day of April was the day of his death, but the year is unknown.[2] He was buried in the cloister near the chapter hall, and the monk of Salerno afterwards saw his epitaph, but at the present time every trace of his tomb has disappeared.

[1] The connection between his Roman and Langobard histories is very close. The first is brought down to Totila's death in 552 and the 16th book closes with the statement that what remains to be said of the good fortune of the emperor Justinian is to be related in a subsequent book. This subsequent book never appeared, but the "History of the Langobards" took its place. The events of Justinian's reign described in the Roman history, the Persian war, the conquest of Africa and the Gothic kingdom, are compressed into the smallest compass, while matters omitted in the Roman history are treated more in detail, *e. g.*, the conquest of Amtalas, king of the Moors, the laws of Justinian, the building of St. Sophia and the general estimate of Justinian's character. The Gothic war is resumed at the point where the Roman history breaks off, that is—with the struggle between Narses and Buccellinus, A. D. 553, except that the account of the sending of auxiliary troops by the Langobards to Narses is prefixed to it, although this occurred during Totila's life (Mommsen, 77).

[2] It occurred probably between A. D. 790 and 800 (Hodgkin, V, 78).

Paul's life was the life of a man of learning.[1] It was not given to him to develop great qualities. Quiet and modest, but honored and loved by all who lived with him, and dear to his royal and princely patrons, he found complete contentment in retirement and in his work as an instructor and author. No reproach has anywhere been made against him. No dishonorable trait appears in his work, or in his life. Everything which has been written to him or about him expresses only love and honor. Lofty flights were unknown to him; his fundamental traits were fidelity, devotion to his prince and love for his people. His religious tendency was of a practical and reasonable kind. He was disinclined to questions of dogmatic controversy and contemplative speculation. In his Life of St. Gregory he declares it unnecessary to relate miracles, since there is no need of them in order to judge of men.

Paul's culture belongs to the most comprehensive of his time. A Langobard by birth, he learned from childhood the language of his people, its laws, its customs and its old historic legends, the rich fragments of which adorn his historical work. The Latin language, the ancient and Christian authors and whatever else belongs to the culture of a churchman, he studied under one of the best teachers of the Langobard kingdom and perhaps (according to the statement of his pupil Hilderic) under the encouragement of the king himself. But what particularly distinguished him, especially in France, was his knowledge of Greek, which was there very rare.

[1] Bethmann, 273.

His general learning was not inferior to his unusual knowledge of languages. The Bible, the fathers of the church, the current classics, Eutropius, Florus, Eusebius, Orosius, Prosper, Jordanes, Fortunatus, Gregory the Great, Gregory of Tours, Isidore Eugippius, the various lives of the popes, Marcus of Monte Cassino, Ambrosius, Autpert, Secundus of Trent, the old Langobard chronicle, Rothari's book of laws, the lives of Columban, Arnulf, etc., are mentioned and used by him, and they will be far from all that he has read.

His many-sided learning is shown in his manner of writing which evinces a diligent reading of the classics and much training. His language on the whole is correct, though barbarisms occur on account of the fact that the Latin language in the Middle Ages was by no means a dead one, but had a peculiar and inevitable development as a living tongue. These barbarisms are found in equal measure in all the writings of the time, not excepting Bede, Alcuin and Eginhard.[1]

[1] After a thorough review of the manuscripts and their genealogies, Waitz (Neues Archiv I, p. 561), differing from Bethmann, attributes to Paul himself, and not merely to his copyists and transcribers, numerous departures from the ordinary rules of orthography and grammar. In addition to mere mistakes and variations in spelling, *e. g.*, *doctor* for *ductor* (Paul Hist. Langob., II, 9), and irregular verbal forms, *accesserant* for *acciderant* (III, 5), *sinebit* (V, 8) *erabamus* (V, 40) *vellit* for *vellet* (II, 4), *inruerit* for *inruerit* (VI, 24); we find such expressions as *mirum dictum* for *dictu* (IV, 2); the use of *domui* as a genitive (VI, 16, 23); the omission of the final s in the genitive, *e. g.*, *superiori* (IV, 16); *caesarem* used as vocative (III, 12); the forms *juvenulus* (V, 7), *primis* (I, 9) meaning "at first;" *ad* for *a* or *ab*, *e. g.*, *ad*

Paul belongs in language and expression to the best

Suavis (III, 7); *adducunt* for *abducunt* (IV, 37). Among the grammatical peculiarities are the interchange of genders, *e. g.*, *praefato sinodo* (VI, 4), *ad quod profectum* (I, 4), *fluvium quod* (IV, 45), *montem quoddam* (III, 34), *illud ornatum* (V, 13), *ritum imperiale* (III, 12), *alium consilium* (VI, 36), *talem votum* (II, 27), *multos pondus* (III, 34).

The accusative is used for the ablative or other cases, *e. g.*, *manum* for *manu* (VI, 32), *gratiam* for *gratia* (VI, 44), *vitam exemptus est* (VI, 56). *ducatum expulit* (VI, 57), *adventum exterritus est* (IV, 8), *regnum potitus* (VI, 35), *hoc est magnum thesaurum* (III, 11). The accusative absolute is used, *e. g.*, *vocatum interpretem* (III, 2), *vocatum pontificem* (III, 12), *Unulfum adscitum* (V, 2). The nominative also is thus used, *Franci cum Saxonibus pugnantes, magna stranges facta est* (IV, 31); *ad cerebrum ictus prevenieus, hostis ab equo dejectus est* (IV, 37). Sometimes accusative and ablative are united, especially when two substantives belong to the participle, *e. g.*, *ordinatis Ibor et Aionem* (I, 3), *Adunatis gentibus Rugorumque partem* (I, 19), *Accepta obside sororem* (V, 8); but also alone, *facta pacem* (III, 27), *nemine scientem* (IV, 40), *relicto puerum* (IV, 41), *Cyrum ejecto* (VI, 34), *eum residente* (VI, 37)—Also the nominative and ablative, *extincto Mauricio ejus filius* (IV, 36)—See also *annum et mensibus* (IV, 44), *eodemque volumen, eodem codicem* (I, 25), *eodem ostium* (V, 3), *eodem cubiculum* (V, 2), *eadem urbem* (II, 13), *eadem civitatem* (VI, 13), *eadem basilicam* (III, 23), *eadem provinciam* (VI, 24), *cuncta suppellectilem* (VI, 57), *in medio campum* (IV, 37), *regia dignitatem* (III, 35), *subito adventum* (V, 9), *ei pugnaturum* (II, 1), —We find also the use of improper cases after prepositions, *in insulam communivit* (VI, 19), *Habitaverunt in Pannoniam* (II, 7), *in caelum apparuisse* (IV, 15), *in palatium manere* (V, 4), *in silvam latens* (V, 39), *in medium civitatis concremari fecit* (VI, 49), *in regnum gerebat principatum* (VI, 23), *in quam partem quiesceret* (V, 34), *cum victoriam* (IV, 16), *de adventum* (V, 8), *de Unulfum* (V, 3), *de Brittaniam* (VI, 37), *a Fano civitatem* (VI, 57), *ab orientis partem* (II, 16), *Pro redemptionem* (VI, 40), *sub regulae jugum*

of the early Middle Ages.[1] He was not born to be a poet although single poems of his are not lacking in beauties and he manages with ease the different kinds of verse. He chooses in preference the old forms of versification, the hexameter, the elegiac, Sapphic, Alcaic, and Archilochian meters, but he also uses a

vivere (VI, 40).—For a subject placed in the accusative see *Pannoniam pertingat* (II, 8), *rex Liutprandum* (VI, 58). Ablative forms are also improperly used, *in Francia misit* (IV, 1), *in Francia fugeret* (VI, 35), *in Alexandria direxit* (VI, 36), *in qua confugerat* (III, 18), *in basilica confugit* (VI, 51), *in gratia receptus* (IV, 3), *ad terra* (III, 24), *ad fine* (I, 21), *in partibus divisus* (III, 24), *ob detrimento* (III, 17), *per medio* (V, 3), *apud filio* (IV, 29), *apud basilica* (IV, 42). Sometimes the object stands in the ablative, *qua gerebat* (I, 15), *qua gestabat* (III, 30), *sua faretra suspendit* (IV, 37), *prima se scribebat* (IV, 36), *manu tetigit* (III, 30), *occasione repperit* (III, 18), *eodem percussit* (IV, 51), *eodem poni fecit* (III, 34), *bello gessisset* (IV, 16), *evaginato ense tenens* (IV, 51). Once it stands in the dative, *ducatui gubernavit* (VI, 3). Sometimes the nominative appears with the infinitive, as *Gambara postulasse, Frea consilium dedisse—subjunxisse* (I, 8), *Peredeo directus esse* (II, 30). We find also the letter t added to the infinitive, *e. g.*, *se vellet* for *se velle* (V, 4). From these instances Waitz infers that Paul's writing was greatly influenced by the corrupt Latin in vogue at the time. No doubt this is true, but probably most of Paul's readers will attribute the larger portion of these errors in the early manuscripts to the carelessness of an original amanuensis or of ignorant transcribers, or to the mere oversight of the learned historian. The generally grammatical character of his verse would indicate that he had a good knowledge of what correct Latin ought to be.

[1] Abel considers (p. xxi) that in this respect the History of the Langobards, which he left incomplete, is inferior to his remaining works.

more modern form consisting of three lines, each composed of eight long and seven short syllables. From the affectations which gradually got the upper hand among the Christian poets he has kept himself quite free with two exceptions, the acrostic to Adelperga, composed after the model of Ennodius and Fortunatus, and the reciprocal distichs on St. Benedict[1] and Scholastica, where the first part of the first line is repeated at the end of the second. Rhyme is not used by Paul. His hymn on the translation of St. Mercurius would be an exception, but for this very reason it appears doubtful whether he was its author.

Paul's principal work was in history. He found this branch of knowledge cultivated in several directions. They include:

(1) The condensed Roman histories of the time with additions made by Christian authors to include Jewish and pre-Roman history as well as the history of the church.

(2) The consular lists to which historical observations were added.

(3) The Annals, a development of Easter tablets, which were hung up in the churches in the effort to secure uniformity in celebrating church festivals.

(4) The Chronicles, an extension of the theory of the Annals to general chronology.

(5) Accounts of the "Six Ages of the World."

(6) Histories of particular German nations, Franks, Goths, Anglo-Saxons, etc.

[1] See Appendix III.

(7) Biographies, including Lives of the Saints and the Popes.[1]

Paul attempted only the first and the last two of these.

But what came at an early time into all these branches of historical writing, and showed in a surprising way the decadence of a spiritually creative life, was the ever-increasing compiling and copying. All the historians of the time copy from each other and from their predecessors, and give us next to nothing that is original. Paul could not withdraw himself from the spirit, or rather the lack of spirit of his age. He was also properly a compiler. It was his nature to collect and transmit in more convenient form what was at hand, not to create anything new. Still, there is never with him a mere rough patching together. He selects and examines his sources, tries to bring their accounts into harmony, and in a general way he makes use of criticism, even though he is not always happy in this. Especially have his critical efforts, joined with his method of compilation, operated injuriously upon his chronology. To bind together the fragments of his different sources he inserts quite arbitrarily the words "After some years" or "At this time" or "In these days" or "After these things," and often quite erroneously, so that phrases of this kind can never pass as authority, since they have their origin simply in a matter of style. Sometimes he throws into confusion the sequence of the narrative, even where he adheres to the words of his sources, so that quite a different chron-

[1] Bethmann, 278 to 282.

ology results. Other things he puts together very loosely without natural connection, and the fact that he puts them in a certain order does not show that they really occurred in that order.[1]

For chronology therefore he must be used with the greatest caution, and where he differs from other ancient sources, the probability is that the error is with him and not with them.[2] He is not lacking in other errors, but these are much oftener to be attributed to his sources than to himself. He has been reproached for credulity, and certainly scientific criticism is not his prominent

[1] Bethmann, 283, 284. He had intended to write merely an extension of his continuation of Eutropius. This would belong to universal history and would be written in chronological order, and when, in place of this, he later writes a history of his own people, he was still unwilling to give up his earlier point of view and he therefore pursues his history in three threads interweaving in briefer fashion with his extended Langobard narrative, matters concerning the Eastern empire and the kingdom of the Franks (Mommsen, 56). This is by no means to the advantage of the narrative since the principal thread of the story is continually interrupted without any proper compensation to the writer in the matters which are thus interjected and which are generally copied almost word for word out of well-known sources. But as a mark of the tendency to fuse together Roman and Germanic traditions and history it is of the highest importance.

[2] His chronological arrangement is based to a considerable extent upon Bede's Chronicle since the years of the reigns of the emperors of the East, besides those of the Langobard kings form the principal support of the order of his narrative. In a very few cases he gives the indiction, and only once (in regard to Alboin's invasion, A. D. 568) the year of our Lord (Jacobi, 3).

characteristic. But what he relates of miracles and wonderful things is due in part to the times, and in part to the traditions of his people which he tells with affection, without everywhere wishing to vouch for their accuracy, as he sometimes lets us perceive. His love of truth, the first quality of a writer of history, is unquestioned. He desires continually and everywhere to give us the facts. Where he fails it is never with knowledge and will.

His whole nature was without anger and prejudice. Partisan views, passionate judgments, the sacred rage of a Tacitus, an Ambrose or a Jeremiah, are not to be expected from him, but rather impartiality and independence of judgment. While his source, the official "Book of the Popes," speaks only evil of Liutprand, Paul praises him in the most decided way. On the other hand, all his love for his people does not prevent his doing full justice to Gregory the Great, and again, with all his reverence for Gregory, in the contest of the Pope with the church of Aquileia, he decidedly takes the part of the latter.[1] Muratori accuses him unjustly of being a partisan of his own people. He undoubtedly loved his people. It was this love which induced him to write his history. It causes him to speak in particular detail of his own home, it prevents his becoming a partisan of the Catholics and the admirers of Gregory against the

[1] It may well be, however, as Cipolla believes (Atti e Memorie del Congresso Storico in Cividale, 1899, p. 144) that Paul, not fully understanding the controversy, considered that Gregory was on the side of the church of Aquileia.

Langobards, but it has not induced him to distort the truth, or to set forth in a partisan manner, nothing but the glory of his people, and if he sometimes omits things where his silence may seem partial, for example, the evil things that Procopius, the "Book of the Popes," and Gregory relate of the Langobards, this is not proof that he wanted to conceal them, since he often omits other important facts, and he relates on the other hand many things disadvantageous to the Langobards. Indeed, his judgment of his own people, as well as of individual Langobards, is sometimes severe. He shows a desire to please Charlemagne in the long digression concerning the forefathers and family of that king in his "History of the Bishops of Metz," but here too he does not depart from the truth; and when he says Rome desired the presence of Charlemagne because it was then suffering from the oppression of the Langobards, this was true even in the mouth of a Langobard, and that he praises the conqueror of his people on account of his mildness cannot well be called flattery. He shows the same feeling for truth and simplicity in his plain diction. There are no speeches according to the manner of the ancients and of Jordanes; there are no great character-portraits depending more or less upon the coloring of the artist; there is no word-painting with the single exception of his lively description of the plague in Book II, Ch. IV, and this he certainly did not derive from his imagination.[1]

[1] The paraphrase from Bethmann (p. 286) ceases at this point. The remainder of the article is from the authorities given below.

Mommsen[1] says, "Paul has hardly written down any statements which he himself did not consider true, but often he came to his conviction of their truth by means of conclusions which are contestable and doubtful, and which it is not always easy to follow." The "History of the Langobards" gives evidence of incompleteness and carelessness in places,[2] but Mommsen believes that, in general, Paul cannot be so much accused of thoughtlessness as of pondering too deeply over the use of his authorities and becoming deceived thereby, and he adds that we must take care not to receive as evidence his mere deductions, as, for example, where Paul finds in his authorities that the two contending kings, Odoacar and Fewa, both reigned over the Rugians, and reconciles this contradiction by attributing the sovereignty of Odoacar to a part only of that people.

Jacobi concludes his comprehensive and scholarly review of the sources of the "History of the Langobards" with the observation that a great part of Paul's statements are without value as sources of history, because they can be traced back to other sources which are still preserved; that that which cannot be so traced has value only where we can accept the view that he has accurately followed his copy, as in the lost work of Secundus; but that where we cannot determine from the form of the unknown source the manner in which it has been used, our knowledge of the way in which Paul is accustomed to work must admonish us to exercise the greatest caution; that much that he relates is undoubtedly

[1] Pp. 102, 103. [2] Jacobi, 2.

traditional, but that in spite of this, Paul's "History of the Langobards," though hitherto prized beyond its value, must be reckoned as one of the more prominent sources of the Middle Ages on account of the considerable number of original statements which it contains.[1] Among the critics of Paul it is Jacobi who gives him the lowest rank, and this is doubtless due to the fact that his point of view considers Paul's work simply as a source of historical facts without reference to the literary character or the general tendencies of that work.

Mommsen's view is a broader one. He says:[2] "It is difficult to judge of the spiritual gifts of those men who have worked upon the incunabula of history, as difficult as it is to form a correct judgment from the works of primitive sculptors and painters in regard to the artistic qualifications of the master. But without doubt Paul takes a peculiar literary position to this extent, that Roman culture had become incorporated in him to such a degree as is quite without another example in this epoch. He wrote indeed the Latin of his time, and while his verses, especially the hexameters and the distichs, are relatively correct, he did not refrain from using in prose the unclassical forms then usual, for example, the accusative absolute (in place of the ablative absolute) and the participle turned into a substantive quite separated from any context. But one who is acquainted in any degree with the halting and bungling writings that were composed at that time looks with astonishment upon his thoroughly clear and gener-

[1] Jacobi, p. 87.

[2] Pp. 54, 55, 56.

erally correct Latin, his reasonable structure of sentences, free from all affectation, and his skill in form and style. Quite apart from the substance of his narrative it is well to picture to ourselves how he has constructed his historical work out of the most scattered sources into unity of form and with full mastery over the style of the whole. The ground-floor of his work is, as is well known, the condensed historical sketch of Eutropius, elegant in its way and taken from the Greek form. It is evident that Paul took Eutropius generally for his model, and this testifies in favor of his correct taste. . . . But it is remarkable in what tolerable fashion he has moulded together the pulpit style of Orosius, the anecdotes of the Books of Examples, the accounts of the Roman, Langobard and Frankish annals and histories (sometimes disjointed, sometimes running on in great detail), and the rude legends of the Langobard Origo, and has in a way tuned them up and tuned them down to the manner of Eutropius, going as far back as King Ianus of Italy and down to King Liutprand. This involves such a knowledge and interest in classical literature as does not occur again in the same breadth and fulness before the time of the Renaissance. . . This energy in Roman classical culture was united in Paul with an earnest national feeling which was rather increased than diminished upon the overthrow of the Langobard kingdom. He has written under these influences, and even to-day his pages show the double marks of classical and national feeling."

PAUL THE DEACON'S HISTORY OF THE LANGOBARDS.

BOOK I.

Chapter I.

The region of the north, in proportion as it is removed from the heat of the sun and is chilled with snow and frost, is so much the more healthful to the bodies of men and fitted for the propagation of nations, just as, on the other hand, every southern region, the nearer it is to the heat of the sun, the more it abounds in diseases and is less fitted for the bringing up of the human race. From this it happens that such great multitudes of peoples spring up in the north, and that that entire region from the Tanais (Don) to the west[1] (although single places in it are designated by their own names) yet the whole is not improperly called by the general name of Germany.[2] The Romans, however, when they occupied

[1] Paul's designation of the whole region from the Don to the west, as Germany, which is wholly incorrect, appears, according to Mommsen (p. 61), to have come from his misinterpretation of the words of his authority, Isidore of Seville.

[2] Paul appears to deduce the name "Germany" from *germinare* to germinate. Cf. Isidore, Etym., XIV, 4, 2. This fanciful derivation is quite different from that given by Tacitus (Germania, II), who derives it from the name of a single tribe afterwards called the Tungrians, who were the first to cross the Rhine and drive out the Gauls.

those parts, called the two provinces beyond the Rhine, Upper and Lower Germany.[1] From this teeming Germany then, innumerable troops of captives are often led away and sold for gain to the people of the South. And for the reason that it brings forth so many human beings that it can scarcely nourish them, there have frequently emigrated from it many nations that have indeed become the scourge of portions of Asia, but especially of the parts of Europe which lie next to it. Everywhere ruined cities throughout all Illyria and Gaul testify to this, but most of all in unhappy Italy which has felt the cruel rage of nearly all these nations. The Goths indeed, and the Wandals, the Rugii, Heroli, and Turcilingi,[2] and also other fierce and barbarous nations have come from Germany. In like manner also the race of

[1] "Beyond the Rhine" means in this case on the left bank of the Rhine. The dividing line between Upper and Lower Germany ran a little below the junction of the Rhine with the Moselle. Mogontiacum (Mayence) was the capital of Upper Germany, and Vetera (Birten) near Wesel, of Lower Germany. (Mommsen's Geschichte des romischen Reichs, V, pp. 107–109). Although these two provinces included at various times more or less territory on the east side of that river, it was only a small part of Germany which was thus occupied by the Romans. Germania Magna, or Great Germany, east of the Rhine, remained independent.

[2] The Rugii and Turcilingi were tribes first mentioned as inhabiting the shores of the Baltic sea (Zeuss, 154–155). They were subsequently found in the army of Attila and afterwards dwelling on the Danube. The Heroli were a migratory people appearing at different times in various parts of Europe (Zeuss, 476). All three of these tribes were among the troops of Odoacar in Italy. As to the Heroli and Rugii see infra, chs. 19 and 20.

Winnili,[1] that is, of Langobards, which afterwards ruled prosperously in Italy, deducing its origin from the German peoples, came from the island which is called Scadinavia,[2] although other causes of their emigration[3] are also alleged.[4]

CHAPTER II.

Pliny the Second also makes mention of this island in the books which he composed concerning the nature of things. This island then, as those who have examined it have related to us, is not so much placed in the sea as it is washed about by the sea waves which encompass the land on account of the flatness of the shores.[5] Since, therefore, the peoples established

[1] The word means "eager for battle" according to Bruckner (322). According to Schmidt (37) it is related to the Gothic *vinja*, "pasture."

[2] That Paul wrote Scadinavia and not Scandinavia see Mommsen, 62, note 1. In the Langobard Origo (see Appendix, II) the name is given as Scadan, Scandanan or Scadanan; in the Chronicon Gothanum, it is Scatenauge (Mon. Germ. Hist. Leges IV, p. 642). Paul appears to have transformed this into Scadinavia from Pliny's Natural History (Book IV, ch. 27, p. 823, Delphin ed.).

[3] Than over population (Jacobi, 12).

[4] The other causes of the emigration of the Winnili may be those suggested in the Chronicon Gothanum where the prophetess or sibyl Gambara "declared to them their migration." "Moved therefore not by necessity, nor hardness of heart, nor oppression of the poor, but that they should attain salvation from on high, she says that they are to go forth." (Monument, Germ. Hist. Leges, IV, 641.).

[5] What Paul meant by this island is hard to decide (Jacobi, 11).

within the island had grown to so great a multitude that they could not now dwell together, they divided their whole troop into three parts, as is said, and determined by lot which part of them had to forsake their country and seek new abodes.[1]

Hammerstein (Bardengau, 51) has pointed out that in the Middle Ages the territory in the north of Germany, between the North and the Baltic seas, was included under the name of Scandinavia, and claims that Paul referred to the so-called Bardengau, a tract in Northern Germany, southeast of Hamburg. But the fact that Paul calls upon Pliny is a proof that he had no definite idea of Scadinavia, and notwithstanding the extensive movement of the tide upon the Elbe and the important changes on the coast, it can hardly be said of Bardengau that it was "surrounded" by sea waves. Bluhme (Die Gens Langobardonum und ihre Herkunft), without sufficient reason, identifies the northernmost part of the Cimbrian peninsula, the so-called Wendsyssel, with Scadinavia. (See Schmidt, 36).

Schmidt (38 to 42) reviews the classical authorities, Mela, Pliny and Ptolemy, as well as Jordanes, the Geographer of Ravenna, and the Song of Beowulf, and concludes that the word refers to the Scandinavian peninsula which was then considered an island; but he rejects the tradition that the Langobards actually migrated from Sweden to Germany, since he considers that they belonged to the West-German stock, which in all probability came from the south-east, while only North-Germans (that is, those races which were found settled in Scandinavia in historical times) appear to have come from that peninsula. It is probable, however, that the Langobards came from North-German stock (Bruckner, 25–32), and while there can be no certainty whatever as to the place of their origin, it may well have been Scandinavia.

[1] The choosing by lot of a part of the people for emigration in the case of a famine is a characteristic peculiar to German folk-tales (Schmidt, 42).

Chapter III.

Therefore that section to which fate had assigned the abandonment of their native soil and the search for foreign fields, after two leaders had been appointed over them, to wit: Ibor and Aio,[1] who were brothers, in the bloom of youthful vigor and more eminent than the rest, said farewell to their own people, as well as their country, and set out upon their way to seek for lands where they might dwell and establish their abodes. The mother of these leaders, Gambara by name,[2] was a woman of the keenest ability and most prudent in counsel among her people, and they trusted not a little to her shrewdness in doubtful matters.

Chapter IV.

I do not think it is without advantage to put off for a little while the order of my narrative, and because my pen up to this time deals with Germany, to relate briefly a miracle which is there considered notable among all, as well as certain other matters. In the farthest boundaries of Germany toward the west-north-west, on the shore of the ocean itself, a cave is seen under a projecting rock, where for an unknown time seven men repose

[1] Ibor and Aio were called by Prosper of Aquitaine, Iborea and Agio; Saxo-Grammaticus calls them Ebbo and Aggo; the popular song of Gothland (Bethmann, 342), Ebbe and Aaghe (Wiese, 14).

[2] The word *gambar*, according to Grimm (Deutsche Mythologie, I, 336), is the equivalent of *strenuus*.

wrapped in a long sleep,[1] not only their bodies, but also their clothes being so uninjured, that from this fact alone, that they last without decay through the course of so many years, they are held in veneration among those ignorant and barbarous peoples. These then, so far as regards their dress, are perceived to be Romans. When a certain man, stirred by cupidity, wanted to strip one of them, straightway his arms withered, as is said, and his punishment so frightened the others that no one dared touch them further. The future will show for what useful purpose Divine Providence keeps them

[1] This is the version by Paul of the story of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. The earliest version is that of Jacobus Sarugiensis, a bishop of Mesopotamia in the fifth or sixth century. Gregory of Tours was perhaps the first to introduce the legend into Europe. Mohammed put it into the Koran; he made the sleepers prophesy his own coming and he gave them the dog Kratin also endowed with the gift of prophecy. The commonly accepted legend was, however, that the Seven Sleepers were natives of Ephesus, that the emperor Decius (A. D. 250), having come to that city, commanded that the Christians should be sought out and given their choice, either to worship the Roman deities or die; that these seven men took refuge in a cave near the city; that the entrance to the cave was, by command of Decius, blocked up with stone; that they fell into a preternatural sleep, and that two hundred years later, under Theodosius II (A. D. 408–450), the cave was opened and the sleepers awoke. When one of them went to the city stealthily to buy provisions for the rest he found that the place was much changed, that his coins were no longer current, and that Christianity had been accepted by the rulers and the people. The original legend relates, however, that after awakening they died (Curious Myths of the Middle Ages, S. Baring-Gould, p. 93). It is not known from what source Paul derived his version of the story.

through so long a period. Perhaps those nations are to be saved some time by the preaching of these men, since they cannot be deemed to be other than Christians.

Chapter V.

The Scritobini, for thus that nation is called, are neighbors to this place. They are not without snow even in the summer time, and since they do not differ in nature from wild beasts themselves, they feed only upon the raw flesh of wild animals from whose shaggy skins also they fit garments for themselves.[1] They deduce the etymology of their name[2] according to their barbarous language from jumping. For by making use of leaps and bounds they pursue wild beasts very skillfully with a piece of wood bent in the likeness of a bow. Among them there is an animal not very unlike a stag,[3] from whose hide, while it was rough with hairs, I saw a coat fitted in the manner of a tunic down to the knees, such as the aforesaid Scritobini use, as has been related. In these places about the summer solstice, a very bright light is seen for some days, even in the night time, and the days are much longer there than elsewhere, just as, on the other hand, about the winter solstice, although the light of day is present, yet the sun is not seen there and the days are

[1] What is said about the Scritobini (or Scridefinni) can be traced to one and the same source as the account of Thule given in Procopius' Gothic War, II, 15, or of Scandza in Jordanes' Gothic History, 3; see Zeuss, 684.

[2] Perhaps from *schreiten*, "to stride," or some kindred word.

[3] A reindeer (Waitz).

shorter than anywhere else and the nights too are longer, and this is because the further we turn from the sun the nearer the sun itself appears to the earth and the longer the shadows grow. In short, in Italy (as the ancients also have written) about the day of the birth of our Lord, human statures at twelve o'clock measure in shadow nine feet. But when I was stationed in Belgic Gaul in a place which is called Villa Totonis (Dietenhofen, Thionville[1]) and measured the shadow of my stature, I found it nineteen and a half feet. Thus also on the contrary the nearer we come to the sun toward midday the shorter always appear the shadows, so much so that at the summer solstice when the sun looks down from the midst of heaven in Egypt and Jerusalem and the places situated in their neighborhood, no shadows may be seen. But in Arabia at this same time the sun at its highest point is seen on the northern side and the shadows on the other hand appear towards the south.

Chapter VI.

Not very far from this shore of which we have spoken, toward the western side, on which the ocean main lies open without end, is that very deep whirlpool of waters which we call by its familiar name "the navel of the sea." This is said to suck in the waves and spew them forth again twice every day, as is proved to be done by the excessive swiftness with which the waves advance and recede along all those shores. A whirlpool or maelstrom of this kind is called by the poet

[1] On the Moselle, where Charlemagne held his court.

Virgil "Charybdis," which he says in his poem[1] is in the Sicilian strait, speaking of it in this way:

Scylla the right hand besets, and the left, the relentless Charybdis;
Thrice in the whirl of the deepest abyss it swallows the vast waves
Headlong, and lifts them again in turn one after another
Forth to the upper air, and lashes the stars with the billows.

Ships are alleged to be often violently and swiftly dragged in by this whirlpool (of which indeed we have spoken) with such speed that they seem to imitate the fall of arrows through the air, and sometimes they perish by a very dreadful end in that abyss. But often when they are upon the very point of being overwhelmed they are hurled back by the sudden masses of waves and driven away again with as great speed as they were at first drawn in. They say there is another whirlpool of this kind between the island of Britain and the province of Galicia,[2] and with this fact the coasts of the Seine region and of Aquitaine agree, for they are filled twice a day with such sudden inundations that any one who may by chance be found only a little inward from the shore can hardly get away. You may see the rivers of these regions falling back with a very swift current toward their source, and the fresh waters of the streams turning salt through the spaces of many miles. The

[1] Æneid, VII, 420.

[2] In the northwestern part of Spain. Many manuscripts read "the province of Gaul." Evidently Paul's knowledge of the geography of these parts is most obscure.

island of Evodia (Alderney) is almost thirty miles distant from the coast of the Seine region, and in this island, as its inhabitants declare, is heard the noise of the waters as they sweep into this Charybdis. I have heard a certain high nobleman of the Gauls relating that a number of ships, shattered at first by a tempest, were afterwards devoured by this same Charybdis. And when one only out of all the men who had been in these ships, still breathing, swam over the waves, while the rest were dying, he came, swept by the force of the receding waters, up to the edge of that most frightful abyss. And when now he beheld yawning before him the deep chaos whose end he could not see, and half dead from very fear, expected to be hurled into it, suddenly in a way that he could not have hoped he was cast upon a certain rock and sat him down. And now when all the waters that were to be swallowed had run down, the margins of that edge (of the abyss) had been left bare, and while he sat there with difficulty, trembling with fear and filled with foreboding amid so many distresses, nor could he hide at all from his sight the death that was a little while deferred, behold he suddenly sees, as it were, great mountains of water leaping up from the deep and the first ships which had been sucked in coming forth again! And when one of these came near him he grasped it with what effort he could, and without delay, he was carried in swift flight toward the shore and escaped the fate of death, living afterwards to tell the story of his peril. Our own sea also, that is, the Adriatic, which spreads in like manner, though less violently, through the coasts of Venetia and Istria, is be-

lieved to have little secret currents of this kind by which the receding waters are sucked in and vomited out again to dash upon the shores. These things having been thus examined, let us go back to the order of our narrative already begun.

Chapter VII.

The Winnili then, having departed from Scadinavia with their leaders Ibor and Aio, and coming into the region which is called Scoringa,[1] settled there for some

[1] Scoringa, according to Müllenhoff's explanation in which Bluhme concurs, is "Shoreland" (see Schmidt, 43). Bluhme considers it identical with the later Bardengau, on the left bank of the lower Elbe where the town of Bardowick, twenty-four miles southeast of Hamburg, perpetuates the name of the Langobards even down to the present time. Hammerstein (Bardengau, 56) explains Scoringa as Schieringen near Bleckede in the same region. Schmidt (43) believes that the settlement in Scoringa has a historical basis and certainly, if the name indicates the territory in question, it is the place where the Langobards are first found in authentic history. They are mentioned in connection with the campaigns undertaken by Tiberius against various German tribes during the reign of Augustus in the fifth and sixth year of the Christian era, in the effort to extend the frontiers of the Roman empire from the Rhine to the Elbe (Mommsen, Römische Geschichte, V, 33). The Langobards then dwelt in that region which lies between the Weser and the lower Elbe. They were described by the court historian Velleius Paterculus (II, 106), who accompanied one of the expeditions as prefect of cavalry (Schmidt, 5), as "more fierce than ordinary German savagery," and he tells us that their power was broken by the legions of Tiberius. It would appear also from the combined testimony of Strabo (A. D. 20) and Tacitus (A, D. 117) that the

years. At that time Ambri and Assi, leaders of the

Langobards dwelt near the mouth of the Elbe shortly after the beginning of the Christian era, and were in frequent and close relations with the Hermunduri and Semnones, two great Suevic tribes dwelling higher up the stream. Strabo (see Hodgkin, V, 81) evidently means to assert that in his time the Hermunduri and Langobards had been driven from the left to the right bank. Ptolemy who wrote later (100–161) places them upon the left bank. Possibly both authors were right for different periods in their history (Hodgkin, V, 82).

The expedition of Tiberius was the high-water mark of Roman invasion on Teutonic soil, and when a Roman fleet, sailing up the Elbe, established communication with a Roman army upon the bank of that river, it might well be thought that the designs of Augustus were upon the point of accomplishment, and that the boundary of the empire was to be traced by connecting the Danube with the Elbe. The dominions of Marobod, king of the Marcomanni, who was then established in Bohemia, would break the continuity of this boundary, so the Romans proceeded to invade his territories. An insurrection, however, suddenly broke out in Illyricum and the presence of the Roman army was required in that region. So a hasty peace was concluded with Marobod, leaving him the possessions he already held. It required four successive campaigns and an enormous number of troops (Mommsen, Rom. Gesch., Vol. V, pp. 35–38) to suppress the revolt. While the Roman veterans were engaged in the Illyrian war, great numbers of Germans led by Arminius, or Hermann, of the Cheruscan tribe rose in rebellion. In the ninth year of our era, Varus marched against them at the head of a force composed largely of new recruits. He was surprised and surrounded in the pathless recesses of the Teutoburg forest and his army of some twenty thousand men was annihilated (id., pp. 38–44). It is not known whether the Langobards were among the confederates who thus arrested the conquest of their country by the Roman army, although they dwelt not far from the scene of this historic battle.

Wandals, were coercing all the neighboring provinces by

They were then considered, however, to belong to the Suevian stock and were subject, not far from this time, to the king of the Marcomanni, a Suevian race (id., p. 34; Tacitus Germania, 38–40; Annals, II, 45), and king Marobod took no part in this war on either side as he had made peace with the Romans.

The defeat of Varus was due largely to his own incompetency and it would not appear to have been irretrievable when the immense resources of the Roman empire are considered. Still no active offensive operations against the barbarians were undertaken until after the death of Augustus and the succession of Tiberius, A. D. 14, when in three campaigns, the great Germanicus thrice invaded Germany, took captive the wife and child of Arminius, defeated the barbarians in a sanguinary battle, and announced to Rome that in the next campaign the subjugation of Germany would be complete (Mommsen, id., pp. 44–50). But Tiberius permitted no further campaign to be undertaken. The losses suffered by the Romans on the sea as well as on land had been very severe, and whether he was influenced by this fact and by the difficulty of keeping both Gaul and Germany in subjection if the legions were transferred from the Rhine to the Elbe, or whether he was actuated by jealousy of Germanicus, and feared the popularity the latter would acquire by the subjugation of all Germany, cannot now be decided, but he removed that distinguished commander from the scene of his past triumphs and his future hopes, sent him to the East on a new mission, left the army on the Rhine divided and without a general-in-chief, and adopted the policy of keeping that river as the permanent boundary of the empire (id., p. 50–54).

Thus the battle in the Teutoburg forest resulted in the maintenance of German independence and ultimately perhaps in the overthrow of the Roman empire itself by German barbarians. It marked the beginning of the turn of the tide in Roman conquest and Roman dominion, for although the empire afterwards grew in other directions yet behind the dike here erected, the forces grad-

war. Already elated by many victories they sent mes-

ually collected which were finally to overwhelm it when it became corrupted with decay.

When the legions of Varus were destroyed, the head of the Roman commander was sent to Marobod and his coöperation solicited. He refused however to join the confederated German tribes, he sent the head to Rome for funeral honors, and continued to maintain between the empire and the barbarians, the neutrality he had observed in former wars. This refusal to unite in the national aspirations for German independence, cost him his throne. "Not only the Cheruscans and their confederates" says Tacitus (Ann. II, 45) "who had been the ancient soldiery of Arminius, took arms, but the Semnones and Langobards, both Suevian nations, revolted to him from the sovereignty of Marobod . . . . The armies (Ch. 46) . . . . were stimulated by reasons of their own, the Cheruscans and the Langobards fought for their ancient honor or their newly acquired independence, and the others for increasing their dominion." This occurred in the seventeenth year of our era. Marobod was finally overthrown, and took refuge in exile with the Romans, and it was not long until Arminius, accused of aspiring to despotic power, was assassinated by a noble of his own race (Mommsen, id. 54–56). After his death the internal dissensions among the Cheruscans became so violent that the reigning family was swept away, and in the year 47 they asked the Romans to send them as their king the one surviving member of that family, Italicus, the nephew of Arminius, who was born at Rome where he had been educated as a Roman citizen. Accordingly Italicus, with the approval of the emperor Claudius, assumed the sovereignty of the Cheruscans. At first he was received with joy, but soon the cry was raised that with his advent the old liberties of Germany were departing and Roman power was becoming predominant. A struggle ensued, and he was expelled from the country. Again, the Langobards appear upon the scene, with sufficient power as it seems to control the destiny of the tribe which, thirty-eight years before, had been the leader in

sengers to the Winnili to tell them that they should either pay tribute to the Wandals[1] or make ready for the struggles of war. Then Ibor and Aio, with the approval of their mother Gambara, determine that it is better to maintain liberty by arms than to stain it by the payment of tribute. They send word to the Wandals by messengers that they will rather fight than be slaves. The Winnili were then all in the flower of their youth, but were very few in number since they had been only the third part of one island of no great size.[2]

the struggle for independence, for they restored him to the sovereignty of which he had been despoiled by his inconstant subjects (Tacitus Annals, XI, 16, 17). These events and other internal disturbances injured the Cheruscans so greatly that they soon disappeared from the field of political activity (Mommsen, id., 132).

During the generations that followed there was doubtless many a change in the power, the territories and even the names of the various tribes which inhabited Germania Magna, but for a long time peace was preserved along the frontiers which separated them from the Roman world (id., p. 133). It is somewhat remarkable that none of those events appear in the Langobard tradition as contained in the pages of Paul.

[1] Hammerstein (Bardengau, 71) considers the Wends who were the eastern neighbors of the Langobards, to be the Wandals. Jacobi (13, n. 1) thinks Paul is misled by the account of Jordanes of the struggles of the Vandals and the Goths.

[2] Although it belongs to the legendary period of the Langobards, there may well be some truth in this statement of the refusal to pay tribute. Tacitus (Germania, 40) speaks of the slender number of the Langobards and declares that they are renowned because they are so few and, being surrounded by many powerful nations, protect themselves, not by submission but by the peril of battles.

Chapter VIII.

At this point, the men of old tell a silly story that the Wandals coming to Godan (Wotan) besought him for victory over the Winnili and that he answered that he would give the victory to those whom he saw first at sunrise; that then Gambara went to Frea (Freja) wife of Godan and asked for victory for the Winnili, and that Frea gave her counsel that the women of the Winnili should take down their hair and arrange it upon the face like a beard, and that in the early morning they should be present with their husbands and in like manner station themselves to be seen by Godan from the quarter in which he had been wont to look through his window toward the east. And so it was done. And when Godan saw them at sunrise he said: "Who are these long-beards?" And then Frea induced him to give the victory to those to whom he had given the name.[1] And thus Godan gave the victory to the Win-

[1] A still livelier description of this scene is given in the "Origo Gentis Langobardorum" (see Appendix II) from which Paul took the story. "When it became bright and the sun was rising, Frea, Godan's wife, turned the bed around where her husband was lying and put his face toward the east, and awakened him, and as he looked he saw the Winnili and their wives, how their hair hung about their faces. And he said: "Who are these long-beards?" Then spoke Frea to Godan: "My lord, thou hast given them the name, now give them also the victory." Mommsen remarks (pp. 65, 66) that Paul has spoiled the instructive story why one does better to put his business in the hands of the wife than of the husband, or rather that he has misunderstood the account. The fable rests upon this, that Godan, according to the position of his bed, looked toward the west upon awakening,

nili. These things are worthy of laughter and are to be held of no account.[1] For victory is due, not to the power of men, but it is rather furnished from heaven.

CHAPTER IX.

It is certain, however, that the Langobards were afterwards so called on account of the length of their beards

and that the Wandals camped on the west side and the Winnili upon the east. The true-hearted god could then appropriately promise victory to his Wandal worshippers in the enigmatical sentence, that he would take the part of those upon whom his eyes should first fall on the morning of the day of the battle; but as his cunning wife turned his bed around, he and his favorites were entrapped thereby. This can be easily inferred from the Origo. It may be asked what the women's hair arranged like a beard has to do with Godan's promise. Evidently, the affair was so planned that the astonishment of the god should be noted when he looked upon these extraordinary long-beards in place of the Wandals he had supposed would be there; perhaps indeed his cunning wife thus drew from her husband an expression which put it beyond doubt that he actually let his glance fall in the morning upon the Winnili.

That the account in the Origo was a Latin translation of a German alliterative epic poem—see Appendix II.

[1] Paul's narrative of the origin of the name of Langobards gives the best example of the manner in which he has treated the legends which have come down to him. The transposition of the direct speech into the indirect, the introduction of the phrase "to preserve their liberty by arms," and similar classical phrases, the new style and historical character given to the story, speak for themselves; but still the Langobard, in treating of the origin of the proud name could not disown his national character and even where "the ridiculous story told by the ancients" sets historical treatment at defiance, he still does not suppress it (Mommsen, 65).

untouched by the knife, whereas at first they had been called Winnili; for according to their language "lang" means "long" and "bart" "beard."[1] Wotan indeed, whom by adding a letter they called Godan[2] is he who

[1] This derivation comes from Isidore of Seville. He says, "The Langobards were commonly so-called from their flowing and never shaven beards" (Etym., IX, 2, 94, Zeuss, 109). Schmidt, although he believes (p. 43) that the change of name was a historical fact, rejects (44, note i) this definition, since he considers that the earlier name of the people was simply "Bards," to which "lang" was afterwards prefixed. Another proposed derivation is from the Old High German word *barta*, an axe, the root which appears in "halbert" and "partizan" (Hodgkin, V, 84). Another authority, Dr. Leonhard Schmitz (see *Langobardi* in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography) argues for its derivation from the root *bord*, which we have preserved in the word "sea-board," and he contends that the Langobards received their name from the long, flat meadows of the Elbe where they had their dwelling. As we adopt one or the other of these suggestions, the Langobards will have been the long-bearded men, the long-halbert-bearing men, or the long-shore-men. Hodgkin (V, 85) as well as Bruckner (p. 33) prefers the interpretation given in the text, "Long-beards." Bruckner remarks that the name of the people stands in close relation to the worship of Wotan who bore the name of the "long-bearded" or "gray-bearded," and that the Langobard name *Ansegrannus*, "He with the Beard of the Gods," showed that the Langobards had this idea of their chief deity. He further shows that the long halbert or spear was not a characteristic weapon of the Langobards. He also (p. 30) considers Koegel's opinion (p. 109) that the Langobards adopted the worship of Wotan from the surrounding peoples after their migration to the Danube is not admissible, since the neighboring Anglo-Saxons worshiped Wotan long before their migration to Britain as their highest God.

[2] Or Guodan according to other MSS.

among the Romans is called Mercury, and he is worshiped by all the peoples of Germany as a god, though he is deemed to have existed, not about these times, but long before, and not in Germany, but in Greece.

Chapter X.

The Winnili therefore, who are also Langobards, having joined battle with the Wandals, struggle fiercely, since it is for the glory of freedom, and win the victory. And afterwards, having suffered in this same province of Scoringa, great privation from hunger, their minds were filled with dismay.

Chapter XI.

Departing from this place, while they were arranging to pass over into Mauringa,[1] the Assipitti[2] block

[1] Mauringa is mentioned by the Cosmographer of Ravenna (I, 11) as the land east of the Elbe. Maurungani appears to be another name of the great country of the Elbe which lies "in front of the Danes, extends to Dacia and includes Baias, Baiohaim." Or perhaps Mauringa was merely the name of the maurland or moorland east of the Elbe (Zeuss, 472). In the Traveler's Song, which had its origin in the German home of the Angles about the end of the 6th century, a Suevian race in Holstein bears the name of Myrginge, and this song also mentions the Headhobards (perhaps identical with the Langobards) who fight with the Danes in Zealand (Schmidt, 34, 47). See also Waitz.

[2] Hodgkin (V, 92) conjectures that possibly the Assipitti are the Usipetes mentioned in Tacitus' Annals (I, 51). See Caesar B. G. IV, 1, 4. Bluhme (see Hodgkin, V, 141) places them in the neighborhood of Asse, a wooded height near Wolfenbüttel. Such identifications of locality are highly fanciful.

their way, denying to them by every means a passage through their territories. The Langobards moreover, when they beheld the great forces of their enemies, did not dare engage them on account of the smallness of their army, and while they were deciding what they ought to do, necessity at length hit upon a plan. They pretend that they have in their camps Cynocephali, that is, men with dogs' heads. They spread the rumor among the enemy that these men wage war obstinately, drink human blood and quaff their own gore if they cannot reach the foe. And to give faith to this assertion, the Langobards spread their tents wide and kindle a great many fires in their camps. The enemy being made credulous when these things are heard and seen, dare not now attempt the war they threatened.

Chapter XII.

They had, however, among them a very powerful man, to whose strength they trusted that they could obtain without doubt what they wanted. They offered him alone to fight for all. They charged the Langobards to send any one of their own they might wish, to go forth with him to single combat upon this condition, to wit; that if their warrior should win the victory, the Langobards would depart the way they had come, but if he should be overthrown by the other, then they would not forbid the Langobards a passage through their own territories. And when the Langobards were in doubt what one of their own they should send against this most warlike man, a certain person of servile rank

offered himself of his own will, and promised that he would engage the challenging enemy upon this condition: that if he took the victory from the enemy, they would take away the stain of slavery from him and from his offspring. Why say more? They joyfully promised to do what he had asked. Having engaged the enemy, he fought and conquered, and won for the Langobards the means of passage, and for himself and his descendants, as he had desired, the rights of liberty.

Chapter XIII.

Therefore the Langobards, coming at last into Mauringa, in order that they might increase the number of their warriors, confer liberty upon many whom they deliver from the yoke of bondage, and that the freedom of these may be regarded as established, they confirm it in their accustomed way by an arrow, uttering certain words of their country in confirmation of the fact.[1] Then the Langobards went forth

[1] Complete emancipation appears to have been granted only among the Franks and the Langobards (Schmidt, 47 note 3). This system of incorporating into the body of their warriors and freemen, the peoples whom they subjugated in their wanderings, made of the Langobards a composite race, and it may well be that their language as well as their institutions were greatly affected by this admixture of foreign stock (Hartmann, II, pp. 8, 9), and that their High-German characteristics are due to this fact. This system of emancipation also had an important effect in furthering the union of the two races, Langobard and Roman, after the Italian conquest (Hartmann, II, 2, 15).

from Mauringa and came to Golanda,[1] where, having remained some time, they are afterwards said to have possessed for some years Anthaib[2] and Banthaib,[3] and in like manner Vurgundaib,[4] which we

[1] Schmidt thinks this was further east, perhaps on the right bank of the Oder (p. 49). He considers (see Hodgkin, V, 143) that the name is the equivalent of Gotland and means simply "good land." Golanda is generally considered, however, to be Gothland, and as the Langobards were found in Pannonia in the year 166 at the time of the war with Marcus Aurelius, and as the Goths emigrated to the Euxine probably about the middle of the second century, Hodgkin (V, 101) considers it probable that the Langobards at this time were hovering about the skirts of the Carpathians rather than that they had returned to Bardengau. The fact that when they were next heard from, they were occupying Rugiland east of Noricum, on the north shore of the Danube, confirms this view. Zeuss takes an alternative reading for Golanda not well supported by manuscript authority, "Rugulanda," and suggests that it may be the coast opposite the isle of Rugen (Hodgkin, 141).

[2] Anthaib, according to the improbable conjecture of Zeuss, is the pagus or district of the Antae who, on the authority of Ptolemy and Jordanes were placed somewhere in the Ukraine in the countries of the Dniester and Dnieper (Hodgkin, p. 141). Schmidt (p. 49) connects Anthaib through the Aenenas of the "Traveler's Song" with Bavaria. These are mere guesses.

[3] Schmidt connects Banthaib with the Boii and Bohemia (49, 50).

[4] Zeuss connects Vurgundaib or Burgundaib with the Urugundi of Zosimus which he seems inclined to place in Red Russia between the Vistula and Bug. These names, he thinks, lead us in the direction of the Black Sea far into the eastern steppes and he connects this eastward march of the Langobards with their alleged combats with the Bulgarians (Hodgkin, V, p. 141). Bluhme in his monograph (Gens Langobardorum Bonn, 1868) thinks that Burgundaib was the territory evacuated by the Burgundians when

can consider are names of districts or of some kinds of places.[1]

they moved westward to the Middle Rhine (Hodgkin, V, p. 142), and instead of the eastern migration he makes the Langobards wander westward toward the Rhine, following a passage of Ptolemy which places them near the Sigambri. He believes that this is confirmed by the Chronicon Gothanum which says that they stayed long at Patespruna or Paderborn and contends for a general migration of the tribe to Westphalia, shows the resemblance in family names and legal customs between Westphalia and Bardengau. Schmidt opposes Bluhme's Westphalian theory which indeed appears to have slender support and he more plausibly connects Burgundaib (p. 49) with the remnant of the Burgundians that remained in the lands east of the Elbe. Luttmersen (Die Spuren der Langobarden, Hanover, 1889) thinks that Burgundaib means "the valley of forts," and was perhaps in the region of the Rauhes Alp in Würtemberg; he notes the fact that the Swiss in Thurgau and St. Gall called an old wall built by an unknown hand "Langobardenmauer" and he claims that the Langobards were members of the Alamannic confederacy which occupied Suabia. No historical evidence of this appears (Hodgkin, V, 145).

[1] Names which have a termination "aib" are derived from the Old-High-German *eiba* (canton), the division of a state or population (Schmidt, 49).

The Latin word *pagus* a district, canton, was here used by Paul to designate these subdivisions instead of the word *aldonus* or *aldones* of the Origo from which Paul took this statement. This word *aldonus* comes from *aldius* or *aldio* the "half-free," referring to the condition of serfdom or semi-slavery in which the people dwelt in these lands. Hodgkin thinks (V, 94) the Origo means that the Langobards were in a condition of dependence on some other nation, when they occupied these districts. It seems more probable that these districts were so called because their inhabitants were subjected by the Langobards to a condition of semi-servitude, tilling the land for the benefit of their masters as

Chapter XIV.

Meanwhile the leaders Ibor and Aio, who had conducted the Langobards from Scadinavia and had ruled them up to this time, being dead, the Langobards, now

was afterwards done with the Roman population of Italy (Schmidt, 50).

The migrations described by modern German scholars are mostly hypothetical. The fact is, it is idle to guess where were the different places mentioned by Paul or when the Langobards migrated from one to the other. That people however may well have taken part (Hodgkin, V, 88) in the movement of the German tribes southward which brought on the Marcommanic war under Marcus Aurelius, for in a history written by Peter the Patrician, Justinian's ambassador to Theodahad (Fragment, VI, p. 124 of the Bonn. ed.) we are informed that just before that war 6,000 Langobards and Obii having crossed the Danube to invade Pannonia were put to rout by the Roman cavalry under Vindex and the infantry under Candidus, whereupon the barbarians desisted from their invasion and sent as ambassadors to Aelius Bassus, who was then administering Pannonia, Vallomar, king of the Marcommani, and ten others, one for each tribe. Peace was made, and the barbarians returned home. These events occurred about A. D. 165. (Hodgkin, V, 88.) It is clear from this that the Langobards had left the Elbe for the Danube as allies or subjects of their old masters, the Marcommani. Where the home was to which they returned can hardly be determined. Hodgkin believes that they withdrew to some place not far distant from Pannonia, while Zeuss (p. 471), Wiese (p. 28) and Schmidt (35, 36) believe that they did not depart permanently from their original abodes on the Elbe until the second half of the fourth century so that according to this view they must have returned to these original abodes. It is evident that a considerable number of the Langobards must have lived a long time on the lower Elbe —the names and institutions which have survived in Bardengau

unwilling to remain longer under mere chiefs (dukes) ordained a king for themselves like other nations.[1] Therefore Agelmund,[2] the son of Aio first reigned over them[3] tracing out of his pedigree the stock of the Gun-

bear evidence of this. It is, however, highly probable that when the bulk of the nation migrated, a considerable part remained behind and afterwards became absorbed by the Saxon tribes in the neighborhood, while the emigrants alone retained the name of Langobards (Hartmann, II, part 1, 5).

After the Marcommanic war, information from Greek or Roman writers as to the fortunes of the Langobards is entirely lacking and for a space of three hundred years their name disappears from history.

[1] More likely the reason was that the unity of a single command was found necessary. Schmidt believes (p. 76) that the people like other German nations, were divided according to cantons, that the government in the oldest times was managed by a general assembly that selected the chiefs of the cantons who were probably, as a rule, taken from the nobility and chosen for life. In peace they acted as judges in civil cases, and in war as leaders of the troops of the cantons. As commander-in-chief of the whole army, a leader or duke was chosen by the popular assembly, but only for the time of the war. Often two colleagues are found together, as Ibor and Aio. As a result of their long-continued wars during their wanderings, the kingly power was developed and the king became the representative of the nation in foreign affairs, in the making of treaties, etc. (p. 77). But the influence of the people upon the government did not fully disappear.

[2] This name is found in a Danish song, and is written Hagelmund (Wiese, 3).

[3] Mommsen observes (68) that even those who recognize a genuine germ of history in this legend must regard as fiction this connection of the leaders Ibor and Aio with the subsequent line of kings; that we have no indication regarding the duration of this

gingi which among them was esteemed particularly noble. He held the sovereignty of the Langobards, as is reported by our ancestors, for thirty years.

Chapter XV.

At this time a certain prostitute had brought forth seven little boys at a birth, and the mother, more cruel than all wild beasts, threw them into a fish-pond to be drowned. If this seems impossible to any, let him read over the histories of the ancients[1] and he will find that one woman brought forth not only seven infants but even nine at one time. And it is sure that this occurred especially among the Egyptians. It happened therefore that when King Agelmund had stopped his horse and looked at the wretched infants, and had turned them hither and thither with the spear he carried in his hand, one of them put his hand on the royal spear and clutched it. The king moved by pity and marveling greatly at the act, pronounced that he would be a great man. And straightway he ordered him to be lifted from the fish-pond and commanded him to be brought to a nurse to be nourished with every care, and because he took him from

early leadership, and that it may as well have lasted centuries as decades. The events already described probably required at least a number of generations for their accomplishment. The words in the text, "Ibor and Aio who had . . . ruled them up to this time," appears to have been inserted by Paul upon conjecture to make a continuous line of rulers and is plainly an error (Waitz).

[1] See Pliny's Natural History, Book VII, ch. 3, on monstrous births.

a fish-pond which in their language is called "lama"[1] he gave him the name Lamissio.[2] When he had grown up he became such a vigorous youth that he was also very fond of fighting, and after the death of Agelmund he directed the government of the kingdom.[3] They say that when the Langobards, pursuing their way with their king, came to a certain river and were forbidden by the Amazons[4] to cross to the other side, this man fought with the strongest of them, swimming in the river, and killed her and won for himself the glory of great praise and a passage also for the Langobards. For it had

[1] *Lama* is not a German but a Latin word, found in Festus and meaning a collection of water (Waitz). It lived on in the romance languages. DuCange introduces it from the statutes of Modena, and Dante used it (Inferno, Canto XX, line 79). It meant, however, in Italian at this later period "a low plain." If Paul or his earlier authorities took it for Langobard this was because it was unknown to the Latin learning of that time, though it was a current peasant word in Northern Italy with which a discoverer of ancient Langobard tales could appropriately connect the indigenous king's name (Mommsen, 68).

[2] This name is called Laiamicho or Lamicho in the Origo and the form used here by Paul seems to have been taken from the Edict of Rothari (Waitz).

[3] This story of the origin of Lamissio is inconsistent with the statement in the Prologue of the Edict of Rothari and with the Madrid and La Cava manuscripts of the "Origo Gentis Langobardorum" which say that he was "of the race of Gugingus" (see Waitz, also Appendix II; Mommsen, p. 68; Waitz, Neues Archiv, V, 423).

[4] This appears to be a transformation into classical form of some ancient German legend of swan-maidens or water-sprites (Schmidt, 17, note).

been previously agreed between the two armies that if that Amazon should overcome Lamissio, the Langobards would withdraw from the river, but if she herself were conquered by Lamissio, as actually occurred, then the means of crossing the stream should be afforded to the Langobards.[1] It is clear, to be sure, that this kind of an assertion is little supported by truth, for it is known to all who are acquainted with ancient histories that the race of Amazons was destroyed long before these things could have occurred, unless perchance (because the places where these things are said to have been done were not well enough known to the writers of history and are scarcely mentioned by any of them), it might have been that a class of women of this kind dwelt there at that time, for I have heard it related by some that the race of these women exists up to the present day in the innermost parts of Germany.[2]

Chapter XVI.

Therefore after passing the river of which we have spoken, the Langobards, when they came to the lands beyond, sojourned there for some time. Meanwhile, since they suspected nothing hostile and were the less uneasy on account of their long repose, confidence,

[1] Schmidt (p. 50) believes that the story of Lamissio is a fabulous expansion of the original myth of Skeaf. The germ of the myth is that a hero of unknown origin came from the water to the help of the land in time of need.

[2] Perhaps the Cvenas whom fable placed by the Baltic sea or gulf of Bothnia in "The Land of Women" (Zeuss, 686, 687).

which is always the mother of calamities, prepared for them a disaster of no mean sort. At night, in short, when all were resting, relaxed by negligence, suddenly the Bulgarians, rushing upon them, slew many, wounded many more and so raged[1] through their camp that they killed Agelmund, the king himself, and carried away in captivity his only daughter.

Chapter XVII.

Nevertheless the Langobards, having recovered their strength after these disasters, made Lamissio, of whom we have spoken above, their king. And he, as he was in the glow of youth and quite ready for the struggles of war, desiring to avenge the slaughter of Agelmund, his foster-father, turned his arms against the Bulgarians. And presently, when the first battle began, the Langobards, turning their backs to the enemy, fled to their camp. Then king Lamissio seeing these things, began in a loud voice to cry out to the whole army that they should remember the infamies they had suffered and recall to view their disgrace; how their enemies had murdered their king and had carried off in lamentation as a captive, his daughter whom they had desired for their queen.[2] Finally he urged them to defend themselves and theirs by arms, saying that it was better to lay down life in war than to submit as vile slaves to the taunts of their enemies. Crying aloud, he said

[1] Read for *dibachati, debacchati.*

[2] Abel (p. 251) infers from this the right of succession to the throne in the female line.

these things and the like and now by threats, now by promises, strengthened their minds to endure the struggles of war; moreover if he saw any one of servile condition fighting he endowed him with liberty, as well as rewards. At last inflamed by the urging and example of their chief who had been the first to spring to arms, they rush upon the foe, fight fiercely and overthrow their adversaries with great slaughter, and finally, taking victory from the victors, they avenge as well the death of their king as the insults to themselves. Then having taken possession of great booty from the spoils of their enemies, from that time on they become bolder in undertaking the toils of war.[1]

Chapter XVIII.

After these things Lamissio, the second who had reigned, died, and the third, Lethu, ascended the throne of the kingdom, and when he had reigned nearly forty years, he left Hildeoc his son, who was the fourth in number, as his successor in the kingly power. And when he also died, Gudeoc, as the fifth, received the royal authority.[2]

[1] Schmidt (50) regards this struggle with the Bulgarians as having no authentic basis in history since the name of the Bulgarians does not occur elsewhere before the end of the fifth century.

[2] Mommsen calls attention (p. 75) to the close relation of the Gothic and Langobard legends. The Goths wandered from the island of Scandza, where many nations dwell (Jordanes, Ch. 3), among them the Vinoviloth, who may be the Winnili. From there the Goths sailed upon three vessels under their king Berich

Chapter XIX.

In these times the fuel of great enmities was consumed between Odoacar who was ruling in Italy now for some years,[1] and Feletheus, who is also called Feva,[2]

to the mainland (Ch. 4, 17). The first people they encountered in battle were the Vandals (Ch. 4). Further on the Amazons were introduced, and Mommsen concludes (p. 76): "It may be that these Langobard and Gothic traditions are both fragments of a great legend of the origin of the whole German people or that the Gothic story-teller has stirred the Langobard to the making of similar fables. The stories of the Amazons are more favorable to the latter idea."

Hodgkin (V, 98) also notices the similarity of Langobard history to that of the Goths, as told by Jordanes. But Jordanes exhibits a pedigree showing fourteen generations before Theodoric, and thus reaching back very nearly to the Christian era, while Paul gives only five links of the chain before the time of Odoacar, the contemporary of Theodoric, and thus reaches back, at furthest, only to the era of Constantine. This seems to show that the Langobards had preserved fewer records of the deeds of their fathers. Hodgkin (V, 99) adds that it is hopeless to get any possible scheme of Lombard chronology out of these early chapters of Paul; that his narrative would place the migration from Scandinavia about A. D. 320, whereas the Langobards were dwelling south of the Baltic at the birth of Christ; that he represents Agelmund, whose place in the narrative makes it impossible to fix his date later than 350, as slain in battle by the Bulgarians, who first appeared in Europe about 479.

[1] Here the tradition of the Langobards, as stated by Paul, begins again to correspond, at least in part, with known or probable historical facts.

[2] The manuscripts of the "Origo Gentis Langobardorum" spell this Theuvane (M. G., Script. Rer. Langob., p. 3) which is required by the meter if the word comes from an epic song (Bruckner, Zeitschrift für Deutches Alterthum, Vol. 43, p. 56).

king of the Rugii. This Feletheus dwelt in those days on the further shore of the Danube, which the Danube itself separates from the territories of Noricum. In these territories of the Noricans at that time was the monastery of the blessed Severinus,[1] who, endowed with the sanctity of every abstinence, was already renowned for his many virtues, and though he dwelt in these places up to the end of his life, now however, Neapolis (Naples) keeps his remains.[2] He often admonished this Feletheus of whom we have spoken and his wife, whose name was Gisa, in saintly language that they should desist from iniquity, and when they spurned his pious words, he predicted a long while beforehand that that would occur which afterwards befel them. Odoacar then, having collected together the nations which were subject to his sovereignty, that is the Turcilingi and the Heroli and the portion of the Rugii he already possessed[3] and also the peoples of Italy, came into Rugiland and fought with the Rugii, and sweeping them away in final defeat he destroyed also Feletheus their king, and after the whole province was devastated, he re-

[1] At Eiferingen, at the foot of Mount Kalenberg, not far from Vienna (Waitz).

[2] St. Severinus was the apostle of Noricum. He was born either in Southern Italy or in Africa. After the death of Attila he traveled through the territory along the Danube preaching Christianity and converting many. He died A. D. 482, and his body was taken to Italy and finally buried at Naples (Waitz).

[3] The statement that Rugians fought upon both sides was the result of Paul's effort to reconcile the accounts of two contradictory authorities (Mommsen, 103).

turned to Italy and carried off with him an abundant multitude of captives. Then the Langobards, having moved out of their own territories,[1] came into Rugiland,[2] which is called in the Latin tongue the country of the Rugii, and because it was fertile in soil they remained in it a number of years.

Chapter XX.

Meanwhile, Gudeoc died, and Claffo, his son, succeeded him. Claffo also having died, Tato, his son, rose as the seventh to the kingly power. The Langobards also departed from Rugiland, and dwelt in open fields, which are called "feld" in the barbarian tongue.[3] While they sojourned there for the space of three years, a war sprang up between Tato and Rodolf, king of the Heroli.[4] Treaties formerly bound them together, and

[1] Wiese (p. 33) believes that they were then dwelling in upper Silesia not far from the head waters of the Vistula.

[2] Bluhme considers this to be Moravia (Hodgkin, V, 142). It is more probably the region on the left bank of the Danube between Linz and Vienna (Schmidt, 51).

[3] The country between the Theiss and the Danube in Hungary as Schmidt (52) believes, quoting a passage from the Annals of Eginhard for the year 796: "Pippin having driven the Huns beyond the Theiss, destroyed completely the royal residence which these people called the *Ring*, and the Langobards the *Feld*." Since Procopius, (B. G. II, 14) says that the Langobards were then tributary to the Heroli, Wiese believes (p. 35, 36) that they were compelled by the Heroli to give up their fertile Rugiland. The Langobards became Christianized, at least in part, about this time (Abel, 241; Schmidt, 51, 52).

[4] The Heroli were, says Zeuss (p. 476), the most migratory

the cause of the discord between them was this: the brother of king Rodolf had come to Tato for the purpose of concluding peace, and when, upon the completion of his mission, he sought again his native country, it happened that his way passed in front of the house of the king's daughter, who was called Rumetruda. Looking upon the company of men and the noble escort, she asked who this might be who had such a magnificent train. And it was said to her that the brother of king Rodolf was returning to his native country, having accomplished his mission. The girl sent to invite him to deign to take a cup of wine. He with simple heart came as he had been invited, and because he was small in stature, the girl looked down upon him in contemptuous pride and uttered against him mocking words. But he, overcome equally with shame and rage, answered back such words as brought still greater confusion upon the girl. Then she, inflamed by a woman's fury and unable to restrain the rage of her heart, sought to accomplish a wicked deed she had conceived in her mind.

among all the German tribes and have wandered over nearly the whole of Europe. They appeared on the Dneister and Rhine ; they plundered in Greece and in Spain, and were found in Italy and in Scandinavia. Hodgkin believes that the tribe was split up into two divisions, one of which moved from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and the other eventually made its appearance on the Rhine. It was the eastern branch, which at the close of the 5th century was in Hungary on the eastern shore of the Danube, with which the Langobards had their struggle (Hodgkin, V, 104). The customs of the tribe were barbarous. They engaged in human sacrifices, put the sick and the aged to death, and it was the duty of a warrior's widow to die upon her husband's tomb (Hodgkin, 105).

She feigned patience, put on a lively countenance, and stroking him down with merry words, she invited him to take a seat, and arranged that he should sit in such a place that he would have the window in the wall at his shoulders. She had covered this window with costly drapery as if in honor of her guest, but really, lest any suspicion should strike him, and the atrocious monster directed her own servants that when she should say, as if speaking to the cup-bearer, "Prepare the drink," they should stab him from behind with their lances. And it was done; presently the cruel woman gave the sign, her wicked orders were accomplished, and he, pierced with wounds and falling to the earth, expired. When these things were announced to king Rodolf he bewailed his brother's cruel murder, and impatient in his rage, burned to avenge that brother's death. Breaking the treaty he had negotiated with Tato, he declared war against him.[1] Why say more? The lines of battle on both sides come together in the open fields.

[1] Procopius (B. G., II, 14 *et seq.*) gives a different account of the origin of this war. He states (Hodgkin, V, 106) that the warriors of the tribe having lived in peace for three years, chafed at this inaction and taunted Rodolf, calling him womanish and soft-hearted, until he determined to make war upon the Langobards, but gave no pretext for his attack. Three times the Langobards sent ambassadors to placate him, who offered to increase the tribute paid by their nation, but Rodolf drove them from his presence. Procopius' reason for the war is more favorable to the Langobards than that given by Paul. But it is quite possible that a rude people such as they were, might consider it more disgraceful to admit that they had paid tribute and humbly besought justice than that they had themselves given just cause for war.

Rodolf sends his men into the fight, but staying himself in camp, he plays at draughts, not at all wavering in his hope of victory. The Heroli were indeed at that time well trained in martial exercises, and already very famous from their many victories. And either to fight more freely or to show their contempt for a wound inflicted by the enemy, they fought naked, covering only the shameful things of the body.[1] Therefore, while the king himself in undoubting reliance on the power of these men, was safely playing at draughts, he ordered one of his followers to climb into a tree which happened to be by, that he might tell him more quickly of the victory of his troops, and he threatened to cut off the man's head if he announced that the ranks of the Heroli were fleeing. The man, when he saw that the line of the Heroli was bent, and that they were hard pressed by the Langobards, being often asked by the king what the Heroli were doing, answered that they were fighting excellently. And not daring to speak, he did not reveal the calamity he saw until all the troops had turned their backs upon the foe. At last, though late, breaking into voice he cried: "Woe to thee wretched Herolia who art punished by the anger of the Lord of Heaven." Moved by these words the king said: "Are my Heroli fleeing?" And he replied: "Not I, but thou, king, thyself hast said this." Then, as is wont to happen in such circumstances, while the king and all, greatly alarmed, hesitated what to do, the Langobards came

[1] Jordanis (ch. 49) says they fought light-armed. Procopius (Persian war, II, 25) speaks of their lack of defensive armor.

upon them and they were violently cut to pieces. The king himself, acting bravely to no purpose, was also slain. While the army of the Heroli indeed was scattering hither and thither, so great was the anger of heaven upon them, that when they saw the green-growing flax of the fields, they thought it was water fit for swimming, and while they stretched out their arms as if to swim, they were cruelly smitten by the swords of the enemy.[1] Then the Langobards, when the victory was won, divide among themselves the huge booty they had found in the camp. Tato indeed carried off the banner of Rodolf which they call Bandum, and his helmet which he had been accustomed to wear in war.[2] And now from that time all the courage of the Heroli so decayed that thereafter they had no king over them

[1] Procopius (B. G., II, 14) gives another account of the battle. He says the sky above the Langobards was covered with black clouds, while above the Heroli it was clear, an omen which portended ruin to the Heroli, since the war god was in the storm cloud (Wiese, 39). They disregarded it, however, and pressed on hoping to win by their superior numbers, but when they fought hand to hand, many of the Heroli were slain, including Rodolf himself, whereupon his forces fled in headlong haste and most of them were killed by the pursuing Langobards. The account of Procopius, a contemporary (490–565), is in the main more reliable than that of Paul, whose story is clearly of a legendary character. The place of the battle is uncertain. The date, too, is doubtful. Procopius places it at 494, but after a careful argument, Schmidt (53, 54) places it about 508.

[2] Bruckner sees in the superfluous phrase "which he had been accustomed to wear in war," the marks of the translation of a German composite word used probably in some early Langobard song (Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum, vol. 43, part I, p. 55).

in any way.[1] From this time on the Langobards, having become richer, and their army having been augmented from the various nations they had conquered, began to aspire to further wars, and to push forward upon every side the glory of their courage.

Chapter XXI.

But after these things Tato indeed did not long rejoice in the triumph of war, for Waccho, the son of his brother Zuchilo,[2] attacked him and deprived him of his

[1] It is not true that the Heroli never afterwards had a king (see next chapter). As to their subsequent history, Procopius says (B. G., II, 14) they first went to Rugiland, and driven thence by hunger, they entered Pannonia and became tributaries of the Gepidae, then they crossed the Danube, probably into upper Moesia and obtained permission of the Greek emperor to dwell there as his allies. This took place in the year 512 (Hodgkin, V, 112). They soon quarreled with the Romans and although under Justinian they came to profess Christianity they were guilty of many outrages. They killed their king Ochon, but finding the anarchy which followed unendurable, they sent to Thule (Scandinavia) for a royal prince to rule them (Hodgkin, 113), and Todasius set forth for that purpose with two hundred young men to the country where the Heroli were living. That fickle people had now obtained a king, Suartuas, from the emperor Justinian, but they changed their minds again and deserted to Todasius, whereupon Suartuas escaped to Constantinople, and when Justinian determined to support him by force of arms, the Heroli joined the confederacy of the Gepidae (p. 116).

[2] This is a misunderstanding by Paul of the words of the Origo from which his account is taken, which says: "And Waccho the son of Unichis killed king Tato, his uncle, together with Zuchilo." (M. G. H. Script. Rer. Langob., p. 3.) See Appendix II.

life. Tato's son Hildechis also fought[1] against Waccho, but when Waccho prevailed and he was overcome, he fled to the Gepidae and remained there an exile up to the end of his life. For this reason the Gepidae from that time incurred enmities with the Langobards. At the same time Waccho fell upon the Suavi and subjected them to his authority.[2] If any one may think that this is a lie and not the truth of the matter, let him read over the prologue of the edict which King Rothari composed[3] of the laws of the Langobards and he will find

[1] Procopius (III, 35) makes Hildechis the son of Risulf, a cousin of Waccho (Hodgkin, V, 117, note 2). He states that Risulf would have been entitled to the throne upon Waccho's death, but in order to get the crown for his own son, Waccho drove Risulf by means of a false accusation from the country; that Risulf fled with his two sons, one of whom was called Hildechis, to the Warni, by whom, at the instigation of Waccho, he was murdered; that Hildechis' brother died there of sickness and Hildechis escaped and was first received by a Slav people and afterwards by the Gepidae (Schmidt, 59).

[2] It is hard to see what people are designated by this name. The Suavi who dwelt in the southwestern part of Germany, now Suabia, are too far off. Hodgkin (p. 119) suggests a confusion between Suavia and Savia, the region of the Save. Schmidt (55) says, "There is ground to believe that this people is identical with the Suevi of Vannius who possessed the mountain land between the March and the Theiss." Other events in Waccho's reign are mentioned by Procopius (II, 22), but omitted by Paul. For instance, in the year 539, Vitiges, the Ostrogoth, being hard pressed by Belisarius, sent ambassadors to Waccho offering large sums of money to become his ally, but Waccho refused because a treaty had been concluded between the Langobards and Byzantines.

[3] Paul here refers to the famous "Origo Gentis Langobardorum" from which, or from a common original, Paul has taken much of

this written in almost all the manuscripts as we have inserted it in this little history. And Waccho had three wives, that is, the first, Ranicunda, daughter of the king of the Turingi (Thuringians); then he married Austrigusa, the daughter of the king of the Gepidae, from whom he had two daughters; the name of one was Wisegarda, whom he bestowed in marriage upon Theudepert, king of the Franks, and the second was called Walderada, who was united with Cusupald, another king of the Franks, and he, having her in hatred,[1] gave her over in marriage to one of his followers called Garipald.[2] And Waccho had for his third wife the daughter of the king of the Heroli,[3] by name Salinga. From her a son was born to him, whom he called Waltari, and who upon the death of Waccho reigned as the eighth[4] king

his early Langobard history. See Appendix II. Paul appears to have considered the Origo as the Prologue to Rothari's Edict. The two were, however, different, though both were prefixed to the Edict in at least some of the MSS. Mommsen (58, note) thinks it probable that the Origo was not an official but a private work, prefixed to the Edict for the first time in the year 668. Rothari composed the Edict and not the Origo, though Paul seems to have considered him the author of the latter (Jacobi 5).

[1] Gregory of Tours relates (IV, 9) that he repudiated her because he was accused by the clergy, probably on account of some ecclesiastical impediment.

[2] Garipald was duke of the Bavarians (Greg. Tours, IV, 9; Waitz; see *infra* III, 10, 30).

[3] And yet Paul has just told us in the preceding chapter that at this time the Heroli had no king.

[4] An error in enumeration, Tato being mentioned as seventh and Waccho omitted (Waitz).

MAP
Shewing the
MIGRATIONS OF THE LOMBARDS
From the 1st to the 6th Century
Modern names half in roman
Ancient Names
HANOVER
English Miles
Longitude East from Greenwich
LANGOBARDI
SCANDINAVIA
Modern Sweden
ANGLI
HOLSTEIN
Lubeck
Hamburg
Elbe
Rhine
Danube
Po
Adriatic Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Baltic Sea
Ocean
Rome
Ravenna
Pavia
Milan
Verona
Padua
Venice
Florence
Naples
Sicily
Sardinia
Corsica
Carthage
Constantinople
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Egypt
Nile
Red Sea
Persian Gulf
Euphrates
Tigris
Babylon
Nineveh
Media
Armenia
Caucasus
Mount Taurus
Mount Ararat
Mount Atlas
Mount Sinai
Mount Lebanon
Mount Vesuvius
Mount Etna
Mount Olympus
Mount Parnassus
Mount Pindus
Mount Haemus
Mount Rhodope
Mount

over the Langobards. All these were Lithingi; for thus among them a certain noble stock was called.

Chapter XXII.

Waltari, therefore, when he had held the sovereignty for seven years,[1] departed from this life,[2] and after him Audoin[3] was the ninth[4] who attained the kingly power (546–565), and he, not long afterwards, led the Langobards into Pannonia.[5]

Chapter XXIII.

Then the Gepidae and the Langobards at last give birth to the strife which had been long since conceived and the two parties make ready for war.[6] When battle

[1] Probably 539 to 546 or thereabouts. (Hartmann, II, 1, 30.)

[2] Procopius says by disease (B. G., III, 35).

[3] The same, probably, as the Anglo-Saxon and English "Edwin" (Hodgkin, V, 122, note 1).

[4] The race of Lethingi became extinct with Waltari. Audoin came from the race of Gausus (see Chronicon Gothanum, M. G., H. LL., IV, p. 644).

[5] Justinian, says Procopius (B. G., III, 33), had given this and other lands to the Langobards together with great sums of money (Schmidt, 58). They appear to have been in fact subsidized as allies and confederates of the Roman Empire (Hartmann, II, 1, 12), and it seems to have been at Justinian's instigation that Audoin married a Thuringian princess, the great-niece of Theoderic, who after the overthrow of the Thuringians had fled to Italy, and later had been brought by Belisarius to the court of Constantinople (Hartmann, II, 1, 14). The invasion of Pannonia probably occurred not far from 546 (id., p. 30).

[6] Paul does not state the cause of this war. Schmidt believes (p. 58) that it was probably begun at the instigation of Justinian whose

was joined, while both lines fought bravely and neither yielded to the other, it happened that in the midst of struggle, Alboin, the son of Audoin, and Turismod, the son of Turisind encountered each other. And Alboin, striking the other with his sword, hurled him headlong from his horse to destruction. The Gepidae, seeing that the king's son was killed, through whom in great part the war had been set on foot, at once, in their discouragement, start to flee. The Langobards, sharply following them up, overthrow them and when a great number had been killed they turn back to take off the spoils of the dead. When, after the victory had been won,

interest it was to break up the friendship of two peoples who threatened to become dangerous to his empire and that in addition to this, the desire of the Langobards to get the important city of Sirmium, then held by the Gepidae coöperated, and above all, the hostile feeling which had been called out by contests for the throne. It must be remembered that the Heroli, enemies to the Langobards, had been received in the confederacy of the Gepidae and that Hildechis, the descendant of Tato, was harbored by the Gepid king Turisind, just as Ustrigotthus, Turisind's rival for the Gepid throne, and son of his predecessor, Elemund, had found refuge at the court of Audoin. Prior to this, both nations had sought the alliance of the emperor (Hodgkin, V, 122–126). Justinian decided to help the Langobards since they were weaker and less dangerous to him than the Gepidae, so a Roman army of about 10,000 cavalry and 1500 Heroli marched against the Gepidae. Upon the way they annihilated a division of 3,000 Heroli who were allied to the Gepidae, and the Gepidae made a separate peace with the Langobards (p. 129). Audoin demanded of Turisind, king of the Gepidae, the delivery of Hildechis, but the latter escaped and wandered about in different countries (Schmidt, 60).

A second war between the Langobards and Gepidae occurred

the Langobards returned to their own abodes, they suggested to their king Audoin that Alboin, by whose valor they had won the victory in the fight, should become his table companion so that he who had been a comrade to his father in danger should also be a comrade at the feast. Audoin answered them that he could by no means do this lest he should break the usage of the nation. "You know," he said, "that it is not the custom among us that the son of the king should eat with his father unless he first receives his arms from the king of a foreign nation."

about 549 (Procopius, IV, 18), when a desperate panic seized both armies at the beginning of a battle, whereupon the two kings concluded a two years' truce. At the end of this time hostilities began anew. Justinian took the side of the Langobards and sent troops into the field, one division of which, under command of Amalafrid, joined the Langobards, while the rest of the troops remained by command of the emperor in Ulpiana to quell certain disturbances (Schmidt, 60, 61). The Langobards pushed into the territory of the Gepidae and defeated their adversaries. The field of battle was probably near Sirmium. Procopius (B. G., IV, 25) puts this battle in the seventeenth year of the war (March, 551, to March, 552). Probably this is the same battle which Paul relates. The Gepidae now begged for peace which was accorded to them through the intervention of Justinian. As a condition the Langobards and the emperor demanded the delivery of Hildechis. But as the Gepidae were resolved not to violate the sanctity of a guest, and as the Langobards refused to deliver Ustrigotthus, neither of these were surrendered, but both perished by assassination, not without the knowledge of the two kings (Schmidt, 62; Hodgkin, V, 134).

Chapter XXIV.

When he heard these things from his father, Alboin, taking only forty young men with him, journeyed to Turisind, king of the Gepidae with whom he had before waged war, and intimated the cause in which he had come. And the king, receiving him kindly, invited him to his table and placed him on his right hand where Turismod, his former son had been wont to sit. In the meantime, while the various dishes were made ready, Turisind, reflecting that his son had sat there only a little while before, and recalling to mind the death of his child and beholding his slayer present and sitting in his place, drawing deep sighs, could not contain himself, but at last his grief broke forth in utterance. "This place," he says, "is dear to me, but the person who sits in it is grievous enough to my sight." Then another son of the king who was present, aroused by his father's speech, began to provoke the Langobards with insults declaring (because they wore white bandages from their calves down) that they were like mares with white feet up to the legs, saying: "The mares that you take after have white fetlocks."[1] Then one of the Langobards thus answered these things: "Go to the field of Asfeld and there you can find by experience beyond a doubt how stoutly those you call mares succeed in kicking; there the bones of your brother are scattered in the midst of the meadows like those of a vile beast." When they

[1] Or hoofs. *Fetilus* for *petilus*. The white hoof of a horse was so called. Others make it *foetidae*, "evil smelling." See Gibbon, ch. 45. Hodgkin, V, 136.

heard these things, the Gepidae, unable to bear the tumult of their passions, are violently stirred in anger and strive to avenge the open insult. The Langobards on the other side, ready for the fray, all lay their hands on the hilts of their swords. The king leaping forth from the table thrust himself into their midst and restrained his people from anger and strife, threatening first to punish him who first engaged in fight, saying that it is a victory not pleasing to God when any one kills his guest in his own house. Thus at last the quarrel having been allayed, they now finished the banquet with joyful spirits. And Turisind, taking up the arms of Turismod his son, delivered them to Alboin and sent him back in peace and safety to his father's kingdom. Alboin having returned to his father, was made from that time his table companion. And when he joyfully partook with his father of the royal delicacies, he related in order all the things which had happened to him among the Gepidae in the palace of Turisind.[2] Those who were present were astonished and applauded the boldness of Alboin nor did they less extol in their praises the most honorable behavior of Turisind.

Chapter XXV.

At this period the emperor Justinian was governing the Roman empire with good fortune. He was both prosperous in waging wars and admirable in civil matters. For by Belisarius, the patrician, he vigorously subdued the Persians and by this same Belisarius he

[1] Read *Turisindi* with many MSS. instead of *Turismodi*.

reduced to utter destruction the nation of the Wandals, captured their king Gelismer and restored all Africa to the Roman empire after ninety-six years. Again by the power of Belisarius he overcame the nation of the Goths in Italy and took captive Witichis their king. He subdued also the Moors who afterwards infested Africa together with their king Amtalas, by John the ex-consul, a man of wonderful courage. In like manner too, he subjugated other nations by right of war. For this reason, on account of his victories over them all, he deserved to have his surnames and to be called Alamannicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Wandalicus, and Africanus. He also arranged in wonderful brevity the laws of the Romans whose prolixity was very great and whose lack of harmony was injurious. For all the laws of the emperors which were certainly contained in many volumes he abridged into twelve books, and he ordered this volume called the Justinian Code. On the other hand, the laws of special magistrates or judges which were spread over almost two thousand books, he reduced to the number of fifty and called that work by the name of "Digests" or "Pandects." He also composed anew four books of "Institutes" in which the texture of all laws is briefly described; he also ordered that the new laws which he himself had ordained, when reduced to one volume, should be called in the same way the "New Code" (Novels). The same emperor also built within the city of Constantinople to Christ our Lord, who is the wisdom of God the Father, a church which he called by the Greek name "Hagia Sophia," that is, "Divine Wisdom."

The workmanship of this so far excels that of all other buildings that in all the regions of the earth its like cannot be found. This emperor in fact was Catholic in his faith, upright in his deeds, just in his judgments, and therefore, to him all things came together for good. In his time Cassiodorus was renowned in the city of Rome[1] for knowledge both human and divine. Among other things which he nobly wrote, he expounded particularly in a most powerful way the obscure parts of the Psalms. He was in the first place a consul, then a senator, and at last a monk. At this time also Dionisius, an abbott established in the city of Rome, computed a reckoning of Easter time by a wonderful argumentation.[2] Then also, at Constantinople, Priscian of Cæsarea explored the depths of the grammatical art, as I might say, and then also, Arator, a subdeacon of the Roman church, a wonderful poet, wrote the acts of the apostles in hexameter verses.

Chapter XXVI.

In these days also the most blessed father Benedict, first in a place called Sublacus (Subiaco), which is distant forty miles[3] from the city of Rome, and afterwards

[1] His work was done mostly at Ravenna and Viviers in Bruttium (where he retired to a monastery). His fame was not confined to Rome but extended throughout Italy, and the entire Roman world.

[2] In his Cyclus Paschalis he also introduced the annunciation of the birth of Christ as the starting-point of chronology.

[3] A Roman mile is 142 yards less than the English statute mile.

in the stronghold of Cassinum (Monte Cassino[1]), which is called Arx, was renowned for his great life and his apostolic virtues. His biography, as is known, the blessed Pope Gregory composed in delightful language in his Dialogues. I also, according to my meager talent, have braided together in the following manner in honor of so great a father, each of his miracles by means of corresponding distichs in elegiac meter.[2] . . . We have woven also in this manner a hymn in iambic Archilochian meter, containing each of the miracles of the same father.[3] . . .

I may here briefly relate a thing that the blessed pope Gregory did not at all describe in his life of this most holy father. When, by divine admonition, he had come almost fifty miles from Sublacus to this place where his body reposes, three ravens, whom he was accustomed to feed, followed him, flying around him. And at every crossway, while he came hither, two angels appearing in the form of young men, showed him which way he ought to take. And in this place [Cassinum] a certain servant of God then had a dwelling, to whom a voice from heaven said:

Leave these sacred spots, another friend is at hand.

[1] A famous monastery, 45 miles N. W. of Naples, the cradle of the Benedictine order.

[2] The sixty-four distichs which follow are found in Appendix III, as they have no proper connection with the history. They had been written by Paul previously, and certain additions to them contained in other MSS. are published by Bethmann (331).

[3] These verses are also contained in Appendix III.

And when he had come here, that is to the citadel of Cassinum he always restrained himself in great abstinence, but especially at the time of Lent he remained shut up and removed from the noise of the world. I have taken all these things from the song of the poet Marcus, who coming hither to this same father, composed some verses in his praise, but to guard against too great prolixity, I have not described them in these books. It is certain, however, that this illustrious father came to this fertile place overlooking a rich valley, being called by heaven for this purpose, that there should be here a community of many monks, as has actually occurred under God's guidance. These things, which were not to be omitted, having been briefly told, let us return to the regular order of our history.

Chapter XXVII.

Now Audoin, king of the Langobards, of whom we have spoken, had to wife Rodelinda, who bore him Alboin, a man fitted for wars and energetic in all things. Then Audoin died,[1] and afterwards Alboin, the tenth king, entered upon the government of his country according to the wishes of all, and since he had everywhere a name very illustrious and distinguished for power, Chlothar, the king of the Franks, joined to him in marriage his daughter Chlotsuinda. From her he begot one daughter only, Alpsuinda by name. Meanwhile Turisind, king of the Gepidæ, died, and Cunimund succeeded him in the sovereignty. And he,

[1] Probably about 565 (Hodgkin, V, 137).

desiring to avenge the old injuries of the Gepidæ, broke his treaty with the Langobards and chose war rather than peace.[1] But Alboin entered into a perpetual treaty with the Avars, who were first called Huns, and afterwards Avars, from the name of their own king.[2] Then he set out for the war prepared by the Gepidæ. When the latter were hastening against him in a different direction, the Avars, as they had agreed with Alboin, invaded their country. A sad messenger coming to Cunimund, announced to him that the Avars had entered his territories. Although cast down in spirit, and put into sore straits on both sides, still he urged his people to fight first with the Langobards, and that, if they should be able to overcome these, they should then drive the army of the Huns from their country. Therefore battle is joined and they fight with all their might. The Langobards become the victors, raging against the

[1] Paul apparently confounds two wars in one. Alboin in the first overcomes Cunimund; then the emperor Justin prepares to aid the Gepidæ and Alboin offers to make peace and to marry Rosemund. His offer is refused and in the second war Cunimund is killed (Waitz).

[2] These were a horde of Asiatics who had entered Europe in the closing years of the reign of Justinian, had extorted large subsidies from him and had penetrated westward as far as Thuringia (Hodgkin, V, 137). Their chief bore the title of cagan or khan. The treaty made by Alboin with the khan Baian shows that the Avars drove a hard bargain with the Langobards. Baian consented to the alliance only on condition that the Langobards should give the Avars a tenth part of their livestock and that in the event of victory the Avars should receive one-half of the spoils and the whole of the lands of the Gepidæ (Schmidt, 63–64).

Gepidæ in such wrath that they reduce them to utter destruction, and out of an abundant multitude scarcely the messenger survives.[1] In this battle Alboin killed Cunimund, and made out of his head, which he carried off, a drinking goblet. This kind of a goblet is called among them "scala,"[2] but in the Latin language "patera." And he led away as a captive,[3] Cunimund's daughter, Rosemund by name, together with a great multitude of both sexes and every age, and because Chlotsuinda had died he married her, to his own injury, as afterwards appeared. Then the Langobards secured such great booty that they now attained the most ample

[1] The destruction of the kingdom of the Gepidæ occurred in 566 or 567 (Hartmann, II, 1, 31).

[2] Compare the Norse word *skaal, skoal,* German *Schale.* Hodgkin, however, thinks it is related rather to the German *Schädel,* our skull (V, 139).

[3] It appears he first saw Rosemund when he went to the court of Turisind to get his arms (Schmidt, 62). On account of political considerations he had to marry Chlotsuinda, daughter of the Frankish king, Chlothar I, but when she died, he sued for the hand of Rosemund, and when it was refused, he forcibly carried her away into his kingdom (p. 63). Cunimund vainly demanded the return of his daughter, and was unwilling that she should marry the hated Langobard. War followed, in which at first the Langobards had the better, but finally they were defeated as the Gepidæ had brought Justin II, who had succeeded Justinian, over to their side. The result was that Rosemund was set free. Then Alboin sought allies and found them in the Avars (id.). When Cunimund heard of this he again sought the aid of Justin and promised to cede Sirmium and other possessions to the empire in return for assistance. Justin delayed and remained neutral, but finally took Sirmium after the Gepidæ were defeated (Schmidt, 64).

riches, but the race of the Gepidae were so diminished that from that time on they had no king. But all who were able to survive the war were either subjected to the Langobards or groan even up to the present time in bondage to a grievous mastery, since the Huns possess their country. But the name of Alboin was spread abroad far and wide, so illustrious, that even up to this time his noble bearing and glory, the good fortune of his wars and his courage are celebrated, not only among the Bavarians and the Saxons, but also among other men of the same tongue in their songs. It is also related by many up to the present time that a special kind of arms was made under him.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Now when the frequent victories of the Langobards were noised about in every direction, Narses, keeper of the imperial archives, who was then ruling over Italy and preparing for war against Totila, king of the Goths, inasmuch as he long before had the Langobards for allies, directed messengers to Alboin, asking that he should furnish him assistance to fight with the Goths. Then Alboin sent a chosen band of his[1] to give support to the Romans against the Goths. They were transported into Italy by a bay[2] of the Adriatic sea, and having joined the Romans, began the struggle with the Goths, and when these were reduced to utter destruction, together with Totila, their king, the Langobards returned as victors, honored with many gifts, to their own country.[3] During all the time the Lango-

[1] This actually occurred under Audoin, not Alboin (Procopius, B. G., IV, 26). Twenty-five hundred Langobards were chosen and Audoin sent with them a retinue of three thousand other armed men (id.).

[2] The dwellers in the lagoons at the northern extremity of the Adriatic transported the army along the shores, crossing the mouths of the rivers in small boats (id.).

[3] They were sent to Italy A. D. 554, returned A. D. 552 (Waitz). Their disorderly conduct and the outrages they committed made them dangerous allies, and Narses took an early occasion to send them home (Procopius, B. G., IV, 33).

bards held Pannonia, they were the allies of the Roman state againt its rivals.

Chapter II.

In these times Narses also waged war against Duke Buccellinus, whom Theudepert,[1] king of the Franks, when he entered Italy and returned to Gaul, had left behind with Amingus, another duke, to conquer the country. This Buccellinus, after devastating nearly all Italy with rapine, and after bestowing upon Theude-

[1] Grandson of Clovis, the founder of the Frankish monarchy. Theudepert had invaded Italy in the year 539 (Muratori Ann., III, p. 388; Hodgkin, V, p. 11), but the dysentery swept away a third of his army, and the clamor of his own subjects, as well as the representations of Belisarius, the general of Justinian, induced him to return home (Gibbon, ch. 41). When he departed from Italy he did not relinquish all he had won. The larger part of Venetia, a good deal of Liguria and the provinces of the Cottian Alps were retained (Hodgkin, V, 11).

Theudepert died in 548, leaving as his successor his feeble child Theudebald (p. 13). Five years later (A. D. 533), when the Goths in Italy were overthrown by Narses, those who still held out in the north besought the Frankish king for aid, and Buccellinus (Butilin) and his brother Leutharius, leaders of the barbarous Alamanni, ravaged northern Italy (pp. 16–17), and then swept down toward the south. The armies of the two brothers kept together as far as Samnium, then they divided. Buccellinus ravaged the west coast and Leutharius the east, down to the end of the peninsula (A. D. 554). Finally Leutharius determined to return with his booty, but when he was about to cross the Alps a pestilence broke out in his army and he perished (pp. 33–36). Buccellinus was attacked by Narses near Capua, his army was destroyed and he was slain. This expedition of Buccellinus, therefore, occurred not under Theudepert but after his death.

pert, his king, abundant gifts from the booty of the country, was arranging to winter in Campania, but was overcome at length in disastrous war by Narses at a place whose name is Tannetum,[1] and was slain. And when Amingus attempted to bring aid to Widin, a count of the Goths rebelling against Narses, both were overcome by Narses. Widin being captured, was banished to Constantinople, but Amingus, who had offered him assistance, perished by the sword of Narses. Also a third duke of the Franks, by name Leutharius, the brother of Buccellinus, when he desired to return to his country laden with great booty, died a natural death between Verona and Tridentum (Trent), near Lake Benacus (Lago di Garda).[2]

CHAPTER III.

Narses had also a struggle with Sinduald, king of the Brenti,[3] a surviving descendant of the stock of the Heroli whom Odoacar, when he formerly came into Italy, had brought with him. Upon this man, who at first adhered to him faithfully, Narses conferred many benefits, but defeated him in war, captured him and

[1] This battle occurred near Capua, on the banks of the river Casilinum, another name for the Vulturnus (Volturno) (Waitz; Hodgkin, V, 36–44.) The name Tannetum cannot be positively identified.

[2] He died of the pestilence which had broken out in his army. See previous note.

[3] Perhaps the same as those called Breones or Briones, dwelling in the Alps of Noricum or in the neighborhood of the Brenner in Tyrol (Waitz; Abel; see Zeuss, 484).

hung him from a lofty beam, when at last he insolently rebelled and sought to obtain the sovereignty.[1] At this time also Narses, the patrician, by means of Dagisteus, the Master of Soldiers, a powerful and warlike man, got possession of all the territories of Italy.[2] This Narses indeed was formerly keeper of the archives,[3] and afterwards on account of the value of his high qualities, he earned the honor of the patriciate. For he was a very pious man, a Catholic in religion, generous to the poor, very zealous in restoring churches,[4] and so much devoted to vigils and prayers that he obtained victory more by the supplications which he poured forth to God, than by the arms of war.

Chapter IV.

In the times of this man a very great pestilence broke out, particularly in the province of Liguria.[5] For sud-

[1] A. D. 565 (Hodgkin, V, 56).

[2] Narses took the city of Rome largely through the agency of Dagisteus (Procopius, IV, 33), who thus became the means of the recovery of Italy (Waitz). The title "Master of Soldiers," (*magister militum*,) was given at the time of Constantine to important ministers of state, and there were then only eight of these in the whole empire (Hodgkin, VI, 539); in the time of Theoderic, the king alone (Hartmann, I, 99), and later, Belisarius, the general-in-chief of Justinian, held this important military office (id., p. 258). Afterwards however, the title became cheapened, the number of *magistri militum* increased, and at last the rank became much the same as that of *dux* or duke (Hodgkin, VI, 540).

[3] *Chartularius*, see DuCange.

[4] After their desecration by the Arian Goths.

[5] Probably A. D. 566 (Hodg., V, 166, note 2).

denly there appeared certain marks among the dwellings, doors, utensils, and clothes, which, if any one wished to wash away, became more and more apparent. After the lapse of a year indeed there began to appear in the groins of men and in other rather delicate[1] places, a swelling of the glands, after the manner of a nut or a date, presently followed by an unbearable fever, so that upon the third day the man died. But if any one should pass over the third day he had a hope of living. Everywhere there was grief and everywhere tears. For as common report had it that those who fled would avoid the plague, the dwellings were left deserted by their inhabitants, and the dogs only kept house. The flocks remained alone in the pastures with no shepherd at hand. You might see villas or fortified places lately filled with crowds of men, and on the next day, all had departed and everything was in utter silence. Sons fled, leaving the corpses of their parents unburied; parents forgetful of their duty abandoned their children in raging fever. If by chance long-standing affection constrained any one to bury his near relative, he remained himself unburied, and while he was performing the funeral rites he perished; while he offered obsequies to the dead, his own corpse remained without obsequies. You might see the world brought back to its ancient silence: no voice in the field; no whistling of shepherds; no lying in wait of wild beasts among the cattle; no harm to domestic fowls. The crops, outliving the time of the harvest, awaited the reaper un-

[1] Read *delicatioribus* in place of *deligatioribus*.

touched; the vineyard with its fallen leaves and its shining grapes remained undisturbed while winter came on; a trumpet as of warriors resounded through the hours of the night and day; something like the murmur of an army was heard by many; there were no footsteps of passers by, no murderer was seen, yet the corpses of the dead were more than the eyes could discern; pastoral places had been turned into a sepulchre for men, and human habitations had become places of refuge for wild beasts. And these evils happened to the Romans only and within Italy alone, up to the boundaries of the nations of the Alamanni and the Bavarians. Meanwhile, the emperor Justinian departed from life and Justin the younger undertook the rule of the state at Constantinople. In these times also Narses the patrician, whose care was watching everything, at length seized Vitalis, bishop of the city of Altinum (Altino), who had fled many years before to the kingdom of the Franks—that is, to the city of Aguntum (Innichen)[1]—and condemned him to exile in Sicily.

Chapter V.

Now the whole nation of the Goths having been destroyed or overthrown, as has been said, and those also of whom we have spoken[2] having been in like manner conquered, Narses, after he had acquired much gold and silver and riches of other kinds, incurred the great envy of the Romans although he had labored much

[1] At the headwaters of the Drave in Tyrol (Waitz).

[2] In ch. 2 and 3 supra.

for them against their enemies, and they made insinuations against him to the emperor Justin[1] and his wife Sophia, in these words, saying, "It would be advantageous for the Romans to serve the Goths rather than the Greeks wherever the eunuch Narses rules and oppresses us with bondage, and of these things our most devout emperor is ignorant: Either free us from his hand or surely we will betray the city of Rome and ourselves to the heathens."[2] When Narses heard this he answered briefly these words: "If I have acted badly with the Romans it will go hard with me." Then the emperor was so greatly moved with anger against Narses that he straightway sent the prefect Longinus into Italy to take Narses' place. But Narses, when he knew these things, feared greatly, and so much was he alarmed, especially by the same empress Sophia, that he did not dare to return again to Constantinople. Among other things, because he was a eunuch, she is said to have sent him this message, that she would make him portion out to the girls in the women's chamber the daily tasks of wool.[3] To these words Narses is said to have given this answer, that he would begin to weave her such a web as she could not lay down as long as she lived.[4]

[1] Read *Justino* for *Justiniano*. It was Justin II who was the husband of Sophia and to whom this complaint was made.

[2] The Arian Goths were so considered.

[3] In Fredegarius (Epitome, iii, 65) it is said that the empress sent him a golden instrument used by women with which he might spin and told him that henceforth he might rule over wool-workers, not over nations.

[4] Or, as Fredegarius has it (id.): "I will spin a thread of which

Therefore, greatly racked by hate and fear, he withdrew to Neapolis (Naples), a city of Campania, and soon sent messengers to the nation of the Langobards, urging them to abandon the barren fields of Pannonia and come and take possession of Italy, teeming with every sort of riches. At the same time he sends many kinds of fruits and samples of other things with which Italy is well supplied, whereby to attract their minds to come.[1] The

neither the emperor Justin nor the empress shall be able to find the end" (Hodgkin, V, 62).

[1] The charge that Narses in revenge for his recall (A. D. 566 or 567) invited the Langobards into Italy is subject to grave doubt. Paul's statement that he sent them the fruits and products of that country contains an obvious improbability, since their troops had served in Italy fifteen years before and they needed no information on that subject (Hodgkin, V, 62). Paul followed the popular tradition, and tracing this back, we find that the account occurs in the so-called Fredegarius (A. D. 642 to 658), but without the statement concerning the fruits and other products of Italy. Bishop Isidore of Seville, whose chronicle came down to 615, tells us that Narses, terrified by the threats of Sophia, invited the Langobards from Pannonia and introduced them into Italy. The Copenhagen continuer of Prosper (about 625) copies from Isidore. The Liber Pontificalis (Life of John III, A. D. 579–590) says that Narses went to Campania and wrote to the Langobards to come and take possession of Italy (Hodgkin, V, 60, 61). This book was nearly contemporary and shows a popular belief that Narses was disloyal to the empire. Neither of the two best contemporary authors, Marius of Avenches or Gregory of Tours, who died about 594, speak of Narses' invitation to the Langobards, though the former mentions his recall and both speak of the invasion of Alboin. The Annals of Ravenna are equally silent. While Narses' recall was probably due to the empress and furnished the Langobards with their opportunity, the statement that

Langobards receive joyfully the glad tidings which they themselves had also been desiring, and they form high expectations of future advantages. In Italy terrible signs were continually seen at night, that is, fiery swords appeared in heaven gleaming with that blood which was afterwards shed.

Chapter VI.

But Alboin, being about to set out for Italy with the Langobards, asked aid from his old friends, the Saxons, that he might enter and take possession of so spacious a land with a larger number of followers. The Saxons came to him, more than 20,000 men, together with their wives and children, to proceed with him to Italy according to his desire. Hearing these things, Chlothar and Sigisbert, kings of the Franks, put the Suavi and other nations into the places from which these Saxons had come.[1]

he invited them is hardly sustained by sufficient evidence to establish the treason of that eminent commander, though it shows that after the invasion his agency was suspected (Hodgkin, V, 64, 65). Certain it is that when his body was brought to Constantinople, the emperor whom he is said to have betrayed, carried his bier and paid the last honors to his memory (Hartmann II, 1, 24).

[1] Hodgkin believes (V, 156 note) that the fact that the Suavi, whom he considers the same as the Alamanni, occupied the homes of these Saxons, indicates that they were located in southern Germany.

Chapter VII.

Then Alboin bestowed his own abode, that is, Pannonia, upon his friends the Huns[1] on this condition: that if at any time it should be necessary for the Langobards to return[2] they should take back their own fields. Then the Langobards, having left Pannonia, hastened to take possession of Italy with their wives and children and all their goods. They dwelt in Pannonia forty-two years.[3] They came out of it in the month of April in the first indiction[4] on the day after holy Easter,

[1] That is the Avars (Waitz). See *supra* I, 27.

[2] "At any time within two hundred years," adds the Chronicon Gothanum (M. G. Leges IV, 644), and it was also provided in the agreement that the Avars should aid the Langobards in Italy.

[3] This period is impossible since the Langobards entered Pannonia not far from 546, and left it in 568. Probably 22 should be substituted for 42 (Hartmann, II, 1, 30).

[4] The word "indiction" originaliy meant the declaration of the imposition of a tax. When Constantine the Great reorganized the Roman Empire he established a fiscal period of fifteen years for this imposition, beginning A. D. 313. Hence the word in chronology means the number attached to the year showing its place in a cycle of fifteen years, beginning A. D. 313. There were three kinds of indiction. The original Greek or Constantinopolitan indiction (here referred to) is reckoned from September 1st of what we consider the previous year. To find the indiction, add three to the number of the year in the vulgar era and divide it by 15, the remainder is the indiction. If nothing is left over, it is the 15th indiction. The year when Alboin left Pannonia was A. D. 568. Adding 3 and dividing by 15 we have 1 remaining, and as the indiction began in September, 567, April of the year 568 was in the 1st indiction, and the 2d indiction began in September of that year.

It will be observed that this date is given by Paul for Alboin's

whose festival that year, according to the method of

departure from Pannonia, not for his actual entrance into Italy. Paul apparently takes this from the Origo (see Appendix II): "And Alboin, king of the Langobards, moved out of Pannonia in the month of April after Easter, in the first indiction. In the second indiction indeed (September, 568, to September, 569), they began to plunder in Italy, but in the third indiction he became master of Italy." A question has arisen whether the actual invasion of Italy occurred in 568 or 569. The edict of Rothari, of Nov., 643, states that it was published (M. G., LL., IV, p. 1) in the 76th year after the arrival of the Langobards in the province of Italy. This indicates that the invasion must have occurred before Nov., 568. But a fragment of Secundus of June, 580, speaks of the Langobards as "remaining in Italy 12 years since they entered it in the month of May in the second indiction." In these 12 years, according to a common method of computation at that time, the 12th year may not have been completed and Secundus' date for the invasion is clearly May, 569 (see M. G., Script. Rerum Lang. et Ital., p. 25, n. 3 a). Marius of Avenches says that in 569 Alboin "occupied" Italy, which Muratori thinks (Annals, A. D. 568) must have been a mistake in the copyist. The Annals of Ravenna (Agnello, a. c. 94) says that in the 2d indiction (Sept. 1, 568, to Sept. 1, 569) Venetia was invaded and occupied by the Langobards. Pope Gregory I wrote June, 595 (Indic. 13, lib. V, 21) that the Romans had been threatened by the Langobards for 27 years, and in July, 603 (Indic. 6, lib. XIII, 38), for 35 years, but in computing this time the final year is not complete, so that the probable date of the invasion would be 569 (see Roviglio, *infra*, p. 12). Cipolla (Atti del R. Istituto Veneto, x, 1889–90, series 7, t. 1, pp. 686–688) and Roviglio (Sopra Alcuni Dati Cronologici, Reggio-Emilia, 1899 contend for 569; Crivellucci (Studii Storici, I, 478–497) and Hodgkin (V, 158) for 568. The authorities are very equally divided. Secundus, a contemporary and considered reliable, would perhaps be entitled to the greatest weight, were it not that the official statement in the Edict supports the year given by Paul.

calculation, fell upon the calends (the first) of April, when five hundred and sixty-eight years had already elapsed from the incarnation of our Lord.

Chapter VIII.

Therefore, when king Alboin with his whole army and a multitude of people of all kinds[1] had come to the limits of Italy, he ascended a mountain which stands forth in those places, and from there as far as he could see, he gazed upon a portion of Italy. Therefore this mountain it is said, was called from that time on "King's Mountain."[2] They say wild oxen graze upon it, and no wonder, since at this point it touches Pannonia, which is productive of these animals. In fine, a certain very truthful old man related to me that he had seen the hide of a wild ox killed on this mountain of such size that in it fifteen men, as he said, could lie one against the other.

Chapter IX.

When Alboin without any hindrance had thence

[1] Including no doubt inhabitants of Noricum and Pannonia, Slavs from the East, a strong contingent of Saxons, and many others belonging to different German races (Hartmann, II, 1, p. 19).

[2] Rudolf Virchow said at the meeting of the German Anthropological Society, Sept. 5, 1899 (see Correspondenz-blatt of that Society for 1898–99, p. 180) that he had taken a special journey to follow the course of the Langobards into Italy and was convinced that their irruption was by the road over the Predil pass, thence into the valley of the Isonzo, and that Monte Maggiore (north of Cividale) is the "King's Mountain" of Paul.

entered the territories of Venetia, which is the first province of Italy—that is, the limits of the city or rather of the fortress of Forum Julii (Cividale)[1]—he began to consider to whom he should especially commit the first of the provinces that he had taken. For indeed all Italy (which extends toward the south, or rather toward the southeast), is encompassed by the waves of the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic seas, yet from the west and north it is so shut in by the range of Alps that there is no entrance to it except through narrow passes and over the lofty summits of the mountains. Yet from the eastern side by which it is joined to Pannonia it has an approach which lies open more broadly and is quite level. When Albion therefore, as we have said, reflected whom he ought to make duke[2] in these places, he determined, as is related, to put over the city of Forum Julii and over its whole district,[3] his nephew

[1] See, however, Waitz, who thinks Colonia Julia Carnia, north of Osopus, is referred to.

[2] As to the meaning of the word "duke" at this time see note to II, 32, *infra*.

The district or duchy of Friuli which Gisulf was to rule cannot be definitely bounded. It reached northward probably to the Carnic Alps, eastward to the Julian Alps, and southward to a line not far from the coast which was subject to the sea power of the Eastern Empire. Concordia was not won from the empire until about 615, and Opitergium in 642. To the west, Friuli was bounded by other Langobard territory, especially by the duchy of Ceneda from which it was separated by the Tagliamento or Livenza (Hodg., VI, 43, 44). The Bavarians dwelt northwest of the duchy, the Slavonians northeast, and behind them the Asiatic Avars (Hodgkin, VI, 44). Cividale was made the capital instead

Gisulf,[1] who was his master of horse—whom they call in their own language "marpahis"[2]—a man suitable in every way. This Gisulf announced that he would not first undertake the government of this city and people unless Alboin would give him the "faras," that is, the families or stocks of the Langobards that he himself wished to choose. And this was done, and with the approval of the king he took to dwell with him the chief families of the Langobards he had desired.[3] And thus finally, he acquired the honor of a leader.[4] He asked also from the king for herds of high-bred mares, and in this also he was heeded by the liberality of his chief.

Chapter X.

In these days in which the Langobards invaded Italy, the kingdom of the Franks, divided into four parts upon the death of their king Chlotar, was ruled by his four sons. The first among these, Aripert (Charibert) had

of Aquileia which had been the chief city (Hodgkin, VI, 39). Friuli is the first mentioned of the four great dukedoms conspicuous by their size and power over all others during the period of the Langobards: Friuli, Trent, Spoleto, and Benevento. The two last were largely independent of the Langobard kingdom. Trent and Friuli never succeeded in achieving their independence although this was several times attempted (Hodg., VI, 23).

[1] Bethmann believes that it was Grasulf, Gisulf's father (Waitz).

[2] From *mar*, *märe* a horse and *paizan* to put on the bit, according to Grimm (Abel, Hodgkin, VI, 42; V, 161).

[3] Indeed it was by *faras* or clans that Italy in general was first occupied by the Langobards (Hartmann II, 1, 21).

[4] Read *ductor* instead of *doctor*.

the seat of his kingdom at Paris;[1] the second indeed, Gunthram held sway at the city of Aureliani (Orleans); the third, Hilperic (Chilperic) had his throne at Sessionae (Soissons), in the place of Chlotar, his father; the fourth, Sigisbert, ruled at the city of Mettis (Metz).[2] At this time, too, the most holy Benedict as pope governed the Roman Church.[3] Also the blessed patriarch Paul presided over the city of Aquileia and its people and, fearing the barbarity of the Langobards, fled from Aquileia to the island of Grado;[4] and he carried away with him all the treasure of his church.[5] In this year in the early winter as much snow fell in the plain as is wont to fall upon the summits of the Alps, and in the following summer there was such great fertility as no other age claims to remember. At this time too when they had learned of the death of king Chlotar, the Huns, who are also called Avars, attacked his son Sigisbert and the latter, coming up to meet them in Turingia, overcame them with great force near the river

[1] Charibert in fact had died in 567, just before the Langobards invaded Italy (Hodgkin, V, 199).

[2] See *infra*, III, 10, note. The name is there spelled Sigispert.

[3] This is erroneous. It was John III who was pope from 560 to 573 (Jacobi, 48). Benedict was pope 573–578. Paul was led into this error by a statement in the Liber Pontificalis from which he took the account, that at the time of Benedict, the Langobards invaded all Italy (Ed L. Duchesne, I, 308; Atti del Congresso in Cividale, 1899, p. 118, note.)

[4] An island near Aquileia and close to the mainland but inaccessible to the Langobards who had no boats.

[5] It was Paulinus, not Paul who thus fled to Grado (Waitz).

Albis (Elbe) and gave peace to them when they sought it. Brunicheldis,[1] coming from Spain, is joined in marriage to this Sigisbert, and from her he had a son by name Childepert. The Avars, fighting again with Sigisbert in the same places as before, crushed the army of the Franks and obtained the victory.

Chapter XI.

Narses indeed returned from Campania to Rome and there not long afterwards, departed from this life,[2] and his body, placed in a leaden casket, was carried with all his riches to Constantinople.

Chapter XII.

When Alboin then came to the river Plavis (Piave), Felix the bishop of the church of Tarvisium (Treviso) came forth there to meet him, and the king, since he was very generous,[3] granted to him at his request all the property of his church and confirmed the things asked for by a solemn document.[4]

Chapter XIII.

Because indeed, we have made mention of this Felix, we may also relate a few things concerning the vener-

[1] Or Brunichildis, Brunihilde, as Paul variously spells it.

[2] About 573 or perhaps a year or two earlier (Hodg., V, 65).

[3] His generosity is also extolled in the song of Widsith (Hodgkin, V, 176).

[4] This has been questioned since the Langobards were then ignorant of writing, but it is not impossible (Waitz).

able and very wise man Fortunatus, who had declared that this Felix was his colleague. In short, this Fortunatus of whom we speak was born in a place which is called Duplabilis, which place lies not far from the fortress of Ceneta (Ceneda) and the city of Tarvisium (Treviso). He was, however, brought up and instructed at Ravenna and became very distinguished in the grammatical, the rhetorical and also the metrical art. And since he suffered a very grievous disease of the eyes, and this Felix also, his colleague, in like manner suffered in his eyes, they both proceeded to the church of the blessed Paul and John, which is situated within that city, and in which an altar, built in honor of St. Martin the Confessor, has a window near by in which a lamp was set to give light. With the oil of this, these men, that is, Fortunatus and Felix, presently touched their suffering eyes. Instantly the disease was driven away, and they obtained the health they longed for. For this reason Fortunatus adored the blessed Martin so much that he abandoned his country a little before the Langobards invaded Italy, and set out for the sepulchre of that blessed man at Turones (Tours), and he relates that his way of proceeding thither, as he tells it himself in his songs, was by the streams of Tiliamentum (Tagliamento) and Reuna (Ragogna), and by Osupus (Osopo) and the Julian Alps,[1] and by the fortress of Aguntum (Innichen) and the rivers Drave and Byrrus (Rienz), and by Briones (the Brenner), and the city of

[1] This part of the range is to-day called the Carnic Alps (Studii Storici, 1899, p. 405).

Augusta (Augsburg), which the Virdo (Wertach) and Lecha (Lech) water. And after he had come to Turones (Tours), according to his own vow, passing on through Pictavi (Poitiers), he dwelt there and wrote at that place of the doings of many saints, part in prose and part in metrical fashion, and lastly in the same city he was ordained, first as a presbyter and then as a bishop, and in the same place he reposes buried with befitting honor. Here he wrote the life of St. Martin in four books in heroic meter, and he composed many other things, most of all hymns for particular festivals and especially little verses to particular friends, being second to none of the poets in soft and fluent speech. At his grave, when I came thither for the purpose of prayer,[1] upon the request of Aper the abbot of that place I composed this epitaph to be inscribed there:

Here in this soil Fortunatus lies buried, the first among prophets,
Born in Ausonian land, worthy of honor in deed,
Famous in talent, quick to perceive and in speech ever gentle.
Many an eloquent page sings his melodious lay.
Fresh from his holy lips, to show us the way to salvation,
Deeds of the saints we learn—fathers of primitive times.
Happy art thou, O land of Gaul, with such jewels emblazoned,
Whose resplendent fire scatters the shadows of night!
Verses of commonplace song, in thy honor, O saint, have I written,
Lest thy fame lie hid, lost in the depths of the crowd.
Render I pray a return, and ask through thy infinite merits
That the Eternal Judge mercy show also to me.

In a few words we have touched upon these things

[1] Between the years 782–786 (Waitz).

concerning so great a man, that his fellow citizens might not be wholly ignorant of his life; now let us return to the thread of our history.

CHAPTER XIV.

Then Alboin took Vincentia (Vicenza) and Verona and the remaining cities of Venetia, except Patavium (Padua), Mons Silicis (Monselice) and Mantua.[1] For Venetia is composed not only of the few islands which we now call Venice, but its boundary stretches from the borders of Pannonia to the river Addua (Adda). This is proved in the books of annals in which Pergamus (Bergamo) is said to be a city of Venetia and in histories we thus read of lake Benacus (Lago di Garda): "Benacus, a lake of Venetia from which the river Mincius (Mincio) flows." The Eneti, indeed (though a letter is added among the Latins), are called in Greek the "praiseworthy." Histria is also joined to Venetia and both are considered one province. Histria is named from the river Hister which, according to Roman history, is said to have been broader than it is now. The city of Aquileia was the capital of this Venetia, in place of which is now Forum Julii (Cividale), so called because Julius Caesar had established there a market for business.

CHAPTER XV.

I do not think we are wandering from the subject if

[1] Paul is probably in error in saying that Mantua was not taken by Alboin. It was indeed later taken by Agilulf, but this was after it had been recaptured by the Greeks during the reign of Authari (Pabst, p. 409, note).

we also touch briefly upon other provinces of Italy.[1] The second province is called Liguria from gathering, that is, collecting leguminous plants with which it is well supplied. In this are Mediolanum (Milan) and Ticinum, which is called by another name, Papia (Pavia). It extends to the boundaries of the Gauls. Between it and Suavia (Suabia), that is, the country of the Alamanni, which is situated toward the north, two provinces, namely, the first Retia (Rhaetia) and the second Retia are placed among the Alps in which, strictly speaking, the Reti (Rhaetians) are known to dwell.

Chapter XVI.

The Cottian Alps are called the fifth province, which were thus named from king Cottius, who lived at the time of Nero. This (province) extends from Liguria toward the southeast[2] to the Tyrrhenian sea; on the west indeed it is joined to the territories of the Gauls. In it are contained the cities of Aquis[3] (Acqui) where there are hot springs, Dertona (Tortona), the monastery of Bobium (Bobbio), Genua (Genoa), and Saona (Savona). The sixth province is Tuscia (Tuscany) which is thus called from "tus" (frankincense) which its people were wont to burn superstitiously in the sacrifices to their gods. This includes Aurelia toward the northwest and Umbria on the eastern side. In this province Rome was situated, which was formerly the

[1] A full account of these provinces is found near the end of Appendix II.

[2] Read *eurum* in place of *eorum*.

[3] Or Aquae Statiellae.

capital of the whole world. In Umbria indeed, which is counted a portion of it, are Perusium (Perugia) and lake Clitorius (Lago di Bolsena) and Spoletium (Spoleto), and it is called Umbria because it remained above the furious rains (imbres) when long ago a watery scourge devastated the nations.

Chapter XVII.

Campania, the seventh province, stretches from the city of Rome to the Siler (Sele), a river of Lucania. In it the very rich cities of Capua, Neapolis (Naples) and Salernus (Salerno) are situated. It is called Campania on account of the very fertile plain (campus) of Capua, but it is for the most part mountainous. Next the eighth province, Lucania, which received its name from a certain grove (lucus), begins at the river Siler and extends with Brittia (Bruttium[1]), which was thus called from the name of its former queen, along the coast of the Tyrrhenian sea like the two last named provinces, as far as the Sicilian strait, and it embraces the right horn of Italy. In it are placed the cities of Pestus (Paestum), Lainus (Lao), Cassianum (Cassano), Consentia (Cosenza), and Regium (Reggio).

Chapter XVIII.

Then the ninth province is reckoned in the Apennine Alps[2] which take their origin from the place where

[1] Now Calabria.

[2] This province described by Paul is wholly imaginary. The others are substantially accurate. See Appendix II near the end.

the Cottian Alps terminate. These Apennine Alps, stretching through the middle of Italy, separate Tuscia (Tuscany) from Emilia and Umbria from Flamminia. Here are the cities of Ferronianus (Frignano) and Montembellium (Monteveglio), Bobium (Bobbio) and Urbinum (Urbino), and also the town which is called Verona.[1] The Apennine Alps were named from the Carthaginians (Poeni)—that is, from Hannibal and his army who had a passage through them when marching upon Rome.[2] There are some who say that the Cottian and Apennine Alps are one province, but the history of Victor[3] which called the Cottian Alps a province by itself refutes them. The tenth province Emilia, beginning from Liguria extends towards Ravenna between the Apennine Alps and the waters of the Padus (Po). It is adorned with wealthy cities, to wit, Placentia (Piacenza), Parma, Regium (Reggio),[4] Bononia (Bologna), and the Forum of Cornelius, the fortress of which is called Imolas (Imola). There were also some who called Emilia and Valeria and Nursia one province, but the opinion of these cannot stand because Tuscia and Umbria are situated between Emilia and Valeria and Nursia.

[1] Paul elsewhere shows that Frignano and Monteveglio were actually in Æmilia, Bobbio in the Cottian Alps and Verona in Venetia (Mommsen, 87).

[2] It will be observed that most of Paul's derivations, though taken from earlier authorities, are highly fanciful.

[3] Life of Nero by Sextus Aurelius Victor.

[4] This was the ancient Regium Lepidi now Reggio d'Emilia, to distinguish it from Reggio in Calabria.

Chapter XIX.

The eleventh of the provinces is Flamminia, which lies between the Apennine Alps and the Adriatic sea. In it are situated Ravenna, the most noble of cities, and five other towns which are called by a Greek name, the Pentapolis.[1] Now it is agreed that Aurelia, Emilia and Flamminia are called by these names from the paved roads which come from the city of Rome and from the names of those by whom they were paved. After Flamminia comes the twelfth province, Picenus, having upon the south the Apennine mountains and on the other side the Adriatic sea. It extends to the river Piscaria.[2] In it are the cities of Firmus (Fermo), Asculus (Ascoli), Pinnis (Penne), and Hadria, already fallen to ruin with old age, which has given its name to the Adriatic sea. When the inhabitants of this district hastened thither from the Sabines, a griffin (picus) sat upon their banner and from this cause it took the name Picenus.

Chapter XX.

Valeria, the thirteenth province, to which Nursia is attached, is situated between Umbria and Campania and Picenus, and it touches on the east the region of the Samnites. Its western part, which takes its beginning from the city of Rome, was formerly called Etruria from the Etruscan people. It contains the cities of

[1] The five cities are Rimini, Ancona, Fano, Pesaro and Sinigaglia.

[2] Mommsen (92) considers that this boundary is incorrect.

Tibur (Tivoli), Carsioli and Reate (Rieti), Furcona (Aquila), Amiternum (San Vettorino) and the region of the Marsians and their lake which is called Fucinus (Celano). I think that the territory of the Marsians should be reckoned within the province of Valeria, because it is not at all described by the ancients in the catalogue of the provinces of Italy, but if any one may prove by correct reasoning that this is a province by itself, his sensible opinion by all means should be accepted. The fourteenth province, Samnium, beginning from the Piscaria, lies between Campania, the Adriatic Sea and Apulia. In it are the cities of Theate (Chieti), Aufidena, Hisernia and Samnium, fallen to ruin by old age, from which the whole province is named, and that most wealthy Beneventum (Benevento) the capital of these provinces. Furthermore, the Samnites received their name formerly from the spears which they were wont to carry and which the Greeks called "saynia."[1]

Chapter XXI.

The fifteenth of the provinces is Apulia, and united with it is Calabria.[2] In it is the Salentine territory. This has Samnium and Lucania on the west and southwest, but on the east it is bounded by the Adriatic Sea. It contains the tolerably rich cities of Luceria (Lucera), Sepontum (Siponto), Canusium (Canosa), Agerentia

[1] Σάννια, more properly a javelin.

[2] Not the present Calabria but the southeastern extremity of the Adriatic shore of Italy.

(Acerenza?), Brundisium (Brindisi), Tarentum (Taranto) and in the left horn of Italy which extends fifty miles, Ydrontum (Otranto), well adapted to commerce.[1] Apulia is named from "destruction,"[2] for more quickly there (than elsewhere) does the herbage of the land perish in the heat of the sun.

Chapter XXII.

The island of Sicily is reckoned the sixteenth province. This is washed by the Tyrrhenian sea and by the Ionian, and is so called from the proper name of the leader Siculus. Corsica is put down as the seventeenth, Sardinia as the eighteenth province. Both of these are girt by the waves of the Tyrrhenian sea. Corsica is named from the leader Corsus; Sardinia from Sardis (Serdis?) the son of Hercules.

Chapter XXIII.

It is certain, moreover,[3] that the old writers of history called Liguria and part of Venetia, as well as Emilia and Flamminia, Cisalpine Gaul. Hence it is that Donatus, the grammarian, in his explanation of Virgil, says that Mantua is in Gaul. Hence it is that we read in Roman history that Ariminum (Rimini) is situated in Gaul. Indeed, in the most ancient period, Brennus, king of the Gauls, who reigned at the city of Senonae

[1] *Mercimoniis.* See DuCange.

[2] Ἀπόλεια from *ἀπόλλυμι* to destroy.

[3] *Tamen*—but here used in a copulative and not an adversative sense. See Crivellucci Studii Storici, 1899, p. 259.

(Sens), came with 300,000 Senonian Gauls to Italy and occupied it as far as Senogallia (Sinigaglia), which is named from the Senonian Gauls. And the reason why the Gauls came to Italy is represented to have been this: When they tasted the wine brought from that country, they were enticed by greed for this wine and passed over into Italy. While a hundred thousand of these were hastening along not far from the island of Delphi, they were killed by the swords of the Greeks. Another hundred thousand, having entered Galatia,[1] were first called Gallogreci, but afterwards Galatians, and these are those to whom Paul, the teacher of the heathen, wrote his epistle. Also a hundred thousand of the Gauls who remained in Italy built Ticinum (Pavia), Mediolanum (Milan), Pergamus (Bergamo) and Brixia (Brescia), and gave to the region the name of Cisalpine Gaul, and they are the Senonian Gauls who formerly invaded the city of Romulus. For as we call what is beyond the Alps, Transalpine Gaul, so we name what is within the Alps on this side, Cisalpine Gaul.

Chapter XXIV.

Italy then, which contains these provinces received its name from Italus, the leader of the Siculi, who took possession of it in ancient times. Or it is denominated Italy on this account, because large oxen, that is, "itali," are found in it; and the name comes from this, that by abbreviation "vitulus" (a calf) is "italus," one letter being added and another changed. Italy is also called

[1] In Asia Minor.

Ausonia from Ausonus, son of Ulysses. Originally indeed, the region of Beneventum was called by this name but afterwards all Italy began to be called so. Italy is also called Latium on this account, because Saturn fleeing from Jupiter his son found a hiding place (latebra) within it. Since enough then has been said concerning the provinces and name of Italy, the events within which we are narrating, let us now return to the regular order of our history.

Chapter XXV.

Alboin then, came into Liguria at the beginning of the third indiction[1] on the third day before the nones[2] of September, and entered Mediolanum during the times of the archbishop Honoratus. Then he took all the cities of Liguria except those which were situated upon the shores of the sea. The archbishop Honoratus indeed, deserting Mediolanum, fled to the city of Genoa. The patriarch Paul[3] too, after administering his priestly office for twelve years, departed from this life and left the church to be managed by Probinus.

[1] A. D. 569, see Bk. II, ch. VII, note.

[2] The nones was the 9th day before the ides, both days being included, and the ides fell upon the 15th of March, May, July and October and upon the 13th of the remaining months. The nones therefore fell upon the 7th of March, May, July and October and upon the 5th of other months. The 3rd day before the nones of September, reckoned backward from the 5th and including both days, would therefore be the 3rd of September, and this is the day given by Muratori in his Annals, Vol. 3, p. 479.

[3] Of Aquileia.

Chapter XXVI.

The city of Ticinum (Pavia) at this time held out bravely, withstanding a siege more than three years, while the army of the Langobards remained close at hand on the western side. Meanwhile Alboin, after driving out the soldiers, took possession of everything as far as Tuscany except Rome and Ravenna and some other fortified places which were situated on the shore of the sea. The Romans had then no courage to resist because the pestilence which occurred at the time of Narses had destroyed very many in Liguria and Venetia, and after the year of plenty of which we spoke, a great famine attacked and devastated all Italy. It is certain that Alboin then brought with him to Italy many men from various peoples which either other kings or he himself had taken. Whence, even until to-day, we call the villages in which they dwell Gepidan, Bulgarian, Sarmatian, Pannonian, Suabian, Norican, or by other names of this kind.

Chapter XXVII.

The city of Ticinum indeed, after enduring the siege for three years and some months, at length surrendered to Alboin and to the Langobards besieging it. When Alboin entered it through the so-called gate of St. John from the eastern side of the city, his horse fell in the middle of the gateway, and could not be gotten up, although urged by kicks and afterwards struck by the blows of spears. Then one of those Langobards thus spoke to the king, saying: "Remember sir king, what vow you have plighted. Break so grievous a vow

and you will enter the city, for truly there is a Christian people in this city." Alboin had vowed indeed that he would put all the people to the sword because they had been unwilling to surrender. After he broke this vow and promised mercy to the citizens, his horse straightway rose and he entered the city and remained steadfast in his promise, inflicting injury upon no one. Then all the people, gathering around him in the palace which king Theoderic had formerly built, began to feel relieved in mind, and after so many miseries were already confident in hope for the future.

Chapter XXVIII.

After this king had ruled in Italy three years and six months, he was slain by the treachery of his wife,[1] and the cause of his murder was this: While he sat in merriment at a banquet at Verona longer than was proper, with the cup which he had made of the head of his father-in-law, king Cunimund, he ordered it to be given to the queen to drink wine, and he invited her to drink merrily with her father. Lest this should seem impossible to any one, I speak the truth in Christ. I saw king Ratchis holding this cup in his hand on a certain festal day to show it to his guests. Then Rosemund, when she heard the thing, conceived in her heart deep anguish she could not restrain, and straightway she burned to revenge the death of her father by the

[1] Probably May 25th or June 28th, A. D. 572, or possibly 573 (Hodg., V, 168, 181; Roviglio, Sopra Alcuni Dati Cronologici di Storia Langobardica. Reggio-Emilia, 1899, pp. 21 to 27).

murder of her husband, and presently she formed a plan with Helmechis who was the king's squire (scilpor)—that is, his armor-bearer—and his foster brother, to kill the king, and he persuaded the queen that she ought to admit to this plot Peredeo, who was a very strong man. As Peredeo would not give his consent to the queen when she advised so great a crime, she put herself at night in the bed of her dressing-maid with whom Peredeo was accustomed to have intercourse, and then Peredeo, coming in ignorance, lay with the queen. And when the wicked act was already accomplished and she asked him whom he thought her to be, and he named the name of his mistress that he thought she was, the queen added: "It is in no way as you think, but I am Rosemund," she says, "and surely now you have perpetrated such a deed, Peredeo, that either you must kill Alboin or he will slay you with his sword." Then he learned the evil thing he had done, and he who had been unwilling of his own accord, assented, when forced in such a way, to the murder of the king. Then Rosemund, while Alboin had given himself up to a noon-day sleep, ordered that there should be a great silence in the palace, and taking away all other arms, she bound his sword tightly to the head of the bed so it could not be taken away or unsheathed, and according to the advice of Peredeo, she, more cruel than any beast, let in Helmechis the murderer.[1] Alboin suddenly aroused from

[1] This reading of Paul seems to reverse the parts, making Peredeo the adviser and Helmechis the actual murderer, and seems to indicate that Paul has misunderstood his authorities or confused them. The names are transposed in some of the manuscripts to

sleep perceived the evil which threatened and reached his hand quickly for his sword, which, being tightly tied, he could not draw, yet he seized a foot-stool and defended himself with it for some time. But unfortunately alas! this most warlike and very brave man being helpless against his enemy, was slain as if he were one of no account, and he who was most famous in war through the overthrow of so many enemies, perished by the scheme of one little woman. His body was buried with the great grief and lamentations of the Langobards under the steps of a certain flight of stairs which was next to the palace. He was tall in stature and well fitted in his whole body for waging wars. In our own days Giselpert, who had been duke of Verona, opened his grave and took away his sword and any other of his ornaments found there. And for this reason he boasted with his accustomed vanity among ignorant men that he had seen Alboin.[1]

bring the sentence into harmony with what precedes. Agnellus ignores Peredeo altogether and assigns the whole responsibility for the murder to Helmechis, instigated by Rosemund (Hodgkin, V, 170). But after deducting what is undoubtedly legendary we have statements from contemporary sources essentially harmonious. The Annals of Ravenna (Exc. Sang. Agnell., ch. 96) says, "Alboin was killed by his followers in his palace by command of his wife Rosemund." John Biclaro: "Alboin is killed at night at Verona by his followers by the doing of his wife." Marius: "Alboin was killed by his followers, that is by Hilmaegis with the rest, his wife agreeing to it." The Copenhagen Continuer of Prosper: "Alboin was killed at Verona by the treachery of his wife Rosemund, the daughter of king Conimund, Elmigisilus aiding her" (Schmidt, p. 72).

[1] Hodgkin (V, 175) notices a reference to Alboin in the so-called

Chapter XXIX.

Helmechis then, upon the death of Alboin, attempted to usurp his kingdom, but he could not at all do this, because the Langobards, grieving greatly for the king's death, strove to make way with him. And straightway Rosemund sent word to Longinus, prefect of Ravenna, that he should quickly send a ship[1] to fetch them. Longinus, delighted by such a message, speedily sent a ship in which Helmechis with Rosemund his wife embarked, fleeing at night. They took with them Albsuinda, the daughter of the king, and all the treasure of the Langobards, and came swiftly to Ravenna.[2] Then

Traveler's song or Widsith which was composed probably about the middle of the sixth century. Lines 139 to 147 say, "So was I in Eatule with Ealfwin, son of Eadwin, who of all mankind had to my thinking the lightest hand to win love, the most generous heart in the distribution of rings and bright bracelets." It seems probable that Eatule means Italy ; Ealfwin, Alboin ; Eadwin, Audoin.

[1] Probably to some point on the Po not far from Verona (Hodg., V, 172, note 1).

[2] As to Rosemund's flight to Longinus, the Ravenna Annals (Agnello, ch. 96) show that Rosemund with a multitude of Gepidae and Langobards came to Ravenna in the month of August with all the royal treasure and was honorably received by Longinus the prefect. Marius says that Helmegis, with his wife and all the treasure and a part of the army, surrendered to the republic at Ravenna. John Biclaro says: that Alboin's treasure with the queen came into the power of the republic and the Langobards remained without king and treasure. The Copenhagen Continuer of Prosper (p. 34) says she attempted to unite Helmigis to herself in marriage and in the kingdom, but when she perceived that her treacherous usurpation displeased the Langobards, she fled with the royal treasure and her husband to Ravenna (Schmidt, 73).

the prefect Longinus began to urge Rosemund to kill Helmechis and to join him in wedlock. As she was ready for every kind of wickedness and as she desired to become mistress of the people of Ravenna, she gave her consent to the accomplishment of this great crime, and while Helmechis was bathing himself, she offered him, as he came out of the bath, a cup of poison which she said was for his health. But when he felt that he had drunk the cup of death, he compelled Rosemund, having drawn his sword upon her, to drink what was left, and thus these most wicked murderers perished at one moment by the judgment of God Almighty.

Chapter XXX.

When they had thus been killed, the prefect Longinus sent Albsuinda with the treasures of the Langobards to Constantinople to the emperor. Some affirm that Peredeo also came to Ravenna in like manner with Helmechis and Rosemund, and was thence sent with Albsuinda to Constantinople, and there in a public show before the emperor killed a lion of astonishing size and, as they say, by command of the emperor, his eyes were torn out lest he should attempt anything in the imperial city because he was a strong man. After some time he prepared for himself two small knives, hid one in each of his sleeves, went to the palace and promised to say something serviceable to the emperor if he were admitted to him. The emperor sent him two patricians, familiars of the palace, to receive his words. When they came to Peredeo, he approached them quite closely as if about to tell them something unusually

secret, and he wounded both of them severely with the weapons he held concealed in each hand so that immediately they fell to the ground and expired. And thus in no way unlike the mighty Sampson, he avenged his injuries, and for the loss of his two eyes he killed two men most useful to the emperor.

Chapter XXXI.

All the Langobards in Italy by common consent installed as their king in the city of Ticinum, Cleph, a very noble man among them.[1] Of many powerful men of the Romans some he destroyed by the sword and others he drove from Italy. When he had held the sovereignty with Masane, his wife one year and six months, he was slain with the sword by a servant of his train.[2]

Chapter XXXII.

After his death the Langobards had no king for ten years[3] but were under dukes,[4] and each one of the

[1] "Of the race of Beleo" says the Origo. Marius of Avenches (Chron., 573, Roncalli, p. 413, see Pabst, 415, note 5) says he had been one of the dukes.

[2] The precise dates are uncertain. Marius of Avenches says he was elected in the sixth indiction and slain in the seventh, hence both events took place between Sept. 1st, 572, and Sept. 1st, 574 (Roviglio, Sopra Alcuni Dati Cronologici, p. 28).

[3] The Origo Gentis Langobardorum, the Chronicon Gothanum, Fredegarius and the Copenhagen Continuer of Prosper all give twelve years as the period of this interregnum. A computation of the preceding and subsequent reigns appears to sustain Paul's statement (Roviglio, id., pp. 29–31) which, however, is not free from doubt.

[4] *Duces.* It is not certain what was the Langobard name for

dukes held possession of his own city, Zaban of Ticinum (Pavia), Wallari of Bergamus (Bergamo), Alichis of Brexia (Brescia), Euin of Tridentum (Trent),[1] Gisulf of Forum Julii (Cividale).[2] But there were thirty other dukes besides these in their own cities.[3] In these

these rulers. Some suggest (Hodgkin, V, 183, 184) *Heretoga* (the present German *Herzog*). The prefix and suffix *ari* which occurs frequently in Langobard names (e. g., Aripert, Arioald, Rothari) may have some connection with this dignity. The Latin word *dux* was appropriately applied, as it meant both a leader in the field and a commander of frontier troops and of a frontier district (Hartmann, II, 1, 40). Schmidt (p. 78) insists that the division of Italy into dukedoms was nothing else than the ancient Langobard division of their territory into cantons, only these were now connected with the former city territories of the Romans.

[1] Duke Euin (569–595) followed by Gaidoald in the latter year, and Alahis about 680 and 690, are the only three dukes of Trent mentioned in Paul's history (Hodg., VI, 23). The duchy of Trent probably ascended by the Central Valley of the Adige as far northward as the *Mansio* of Euna, the modern town of Neumarkt, and southward to a point near the present Austro-Italian frontier where the mountains begin to slope down to the Lombard plain (Hodg., VI, 26).

[2] The dukes of Friuli were Gisulf (living in 575), Grasulf II, Taso, Cacco, Ago, Lupus (about 662), Wechtari (between 662 and 671), Landari, Rodoald, Ansfrit (between 688 and 700), Ferdulf, Corvulus, Pemmo, Anselm, Peter and Ratgaud or Hrodgaud (775 to 776) (Hodg., VI, 36).

[3] Pabst (437) gives the list of probable cities referred to:

Friuli	Parma	Cremona
Ceneda	Piacenza	Como
Treviso	Modena	Lodi
Vicenza	Brescello	Vercelli
Verona	Asti	Tortona

days many of the noble Romans were killed from

Trent	Ivrea	Alba Pompeia
Brescia	Turin	Acqui
Bergamo	Mantua	Lucca
Novara	Altino	Chiusi
Milan	Mariana	Perugia
Pavia	Feltre	Benevento
Reggio	Belluno	Spoleto (see p. 439).

This makes thirty-six cities instead of the thirty-five, and probably Pabst included one or more not yet occupied by the Langobards (Hodgkin, V, 188). Pabst also gives a very complete account of this office of duke. At first it was not hereditary (p. 414–415) but was held for life (p. 432). Dukes were not selected on account of their noble birth (though nobles were frequently found among them), but on account of their military and administrative ability. The duke was not chosen by the people but appointed by the king (p. 414). During the interregnum of ten years when the dukes governed different portions of the country, there was a great increase of the ducal power. It became evident, however, that the government could not continue thus sub-divided. The kingly power was restored but in the meantime some of the dukedoms, particularly Benevento and Spoleto, and in a measure Friuli had become so powerful that they were never again wholly subjected to the king. The succession in Benevento and Spoleto became hereditary, and even in Friuli the rights of the ruling family were respected (Paul, IV, 39; Pabst, 432). The duke's jurisdiction extended, not simply over a particular city, but over the adjoining district or province (pp. 434–435) In determining the limits of this district the ancient boundaries were generally observed (435). The first definite statement of the powers of the duke is found in the laws of Rothari about the middle of the 7th century. He had supreme military, judicial and police jurisdiction in his district (439, 440). His control of the financial administration was not so complete (440). At his side, at least in the northern dukedoms, stood the counts and *gastaldi* who were the immediate representatives of the king. The counts are named

love of gain, and the remainder were divided among

next after the dukes (441), though their jurisdiction nowhere (442) appears, and Pabst considers that the name is a mere honorary title for a particular *gastaldus* (or *gastaldius*). This latter word is derived, in his opinion, from the Gothic *gastaldan*, to possess, acquire. A better derivation would seem to be from *gast* and *aldius*, the "guest of the half-free" who settled as a lord on the property of the conquered Italians, and compelled them to serve him and give him a portion of the proceeds of their lands. The *gastaldi* would then be the lords or administrators of these Italian domains (Bruckner, 205). When the dukes re-established the kingly power (P. III, 16) they gave up one-half of their fortunes for royal uses. Paul tells us that at this time the oppressed people were parcelled out among their Langobard guests, and it is probable that the *gastaldi* (whose name would appear to refer to such apportionment) were first appointed at that time. In each *civitas* or city with its adjacent territory there appears to have been a *gastaldus* whose duty it was to look after the royal interests, and especially, the royal domains (p. 443). He received the king's share of inheritances when heirs were lacking and gradually came into possession of most of the financial administration (444). Dukes, counts, and *gastaldi*, are all designated by the common name of "judges" (447–448), and certain police authority is also given them—for example, to remove lepers (449), to arrest fugitives, etc. A peculiar provision of Rothari's Edict (23) is, that if a duke shall unjustly injure his soldier the *gastaldus* shall aid the latter and (24), if the *gastaldus* shall unjustly injure his soldier, the duke shall protect the injured man (443, note 3). Quite different is the position of the *gastaldi* of Benevento and Spoleto where the dukes were practically sovereign (470). We see at the courts of these dukes the same officials as at the royal court, the *cubicularius* or chamberlain, the *stolesaz*, or treasurer, etc. (472).

We find many royal expedients to limit the ducal power. Territory reconquered from the Greek empire or from rebellious dukes became the property of the sovereign (463), and *gastaldi*

their "guests" and made tributaries, that they should pay

rather than dukes were appointed to administer it. When Liutprand endeavored to strengthen the royal power, he took advantage in Friuli of a contest between Bishop Calixtus and Duke Pemmo and deprived Pemmo of the dukedom, but appointed Pemmo's eldest son Ratchis in his place (see P., VI, 51). Liutprand also deposed and appointed dukes for Spoleto and Benevento, and set aside for a time the hereditary succession, but he did not permanently reduce these duchies to subjection.

In the other parts of the kingdom, immediately subject to him, however (which were called Austria, Neustria and Tuscia), he appointed *gastaldi* in the cities where there had been dukes, and greatly strengthened his own power by increasing the powers and responsibilities of the *gastaldi*. In his edicts he does not use the word "duke" at all, but continually uses the word "judge" in place of it, which latter term includes both dukes and *gastaldi*, and the two are now no longer found side by side in a single jurisdiction. Pabst (482–483) has given a list of the cities which, under Liutprand, were ruled by dukes and of those which were ruled by *gastaldi*. The list is incomplete, and perhaps in part incorrect, yet it shows in a general way the extent of the separation of the two offices.

There were also subordinate officials. Among these were the *actores*, who were the king's agents in administering particular royal domains, and under the judges the *sculdahis*, or local magistrates, and the *centenarii* and *locopositi*, probably of similar grade (500, see Hartmann, II, 2, 39). In an ordinary judicial proceeding the complainant betook him in the first place to the *sculdahis*, the local civil magistrate. If the case were so important that the *sculdahis* could not decide it, he had to send the parties to the judge (i. e., the duke or *gastaldus*) (Pabst, 485), but if it were beyond the jurisdiction of the latter, the parties had to appear in the king's court. If the judge could not act personally he could appoint a deputy (*missus*) to act for him in individual cases. The party defeated in a legal proceeding had the right to complain to a higher jurisdiction of the decision or the conduct of the magis-

the third part of their products to the Langobards.[1] By

trate who decided against him (Hartmann, II, 2, 41), and if it were found that the judge had failed in his duties he was punished (at least until the time of king Ratchis), not by dismissal, but by a fine (Pabst, 487). In their powers, duties and responsibilities dukes and *gastaldi* at last appear to be quite alike, and while a larger domain generally appears annexed to the office of duke, the *gastaldi* usually have the administration of the royal estates (489). Possibly the king could change the *gastaldi* more quickly than the dukes whose term of office lasted for life, but this appears to be the only point in which the duke had the advantage. These arrangements suffered little change during the latter days of the kingdom.

[1] There is much controversy as to the meaning of this sentence, Does the "remainder" who were divided, refer to all the Romans, or merely to the nobles who were not killed? Hodgkin (VI, 581) believes it refers to the rest of the Roman inhabitants. Villari (Le Invasioni Barbariche, II, 32) insists that it refers grammatically to the nobles only, and asks how it would have been possible to render tributary all the Romans, thus obliging those who possessed nothing to pay one-third of the fruits of the earth? It would seem that it must be limited at least to the Roman landed proprietors who might well at this time have been roughly designated as nobles in this connection.

The word "guest" (*hospes*) expressed a relation that could exist only between the Langobard and the Roman proprietor. That of "patron" existed toward the peasants and cultivators of the lands (Villari, pp. 272, 273). The relation of "guests" also existed elsewhere between Burgundians and conquered Romans. The Roman whose land was assigned to a Burgundian was called *hospes* and *vice versa*. The land thus assigned was called *sors*, and the right to it *hospitalitas* (Savigny, Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter, I, p. 298).

The whole free Roman population was treated by the Langobards quite differently from the manner in which they had been treated by Theodoric and the Ostrogoths, who simply took one-

these dukes of the Langobards in the seventh year from

third of their land and left them as independent as before. The Langobards took one-third, not of the land, but of its products, and there is much dispute as to the status in which they held the Roman population. Although Villari (Le Invasioni Barbariche, pp. 265, 266, 271–272) and others deny that this population was reduced to slavery, the better opinion seems to be that during the wars of conquest and the earlier period of Langobard domination, the Romans were regarded as conquered enemies destitute of all rights (Hartmann, II, 2, 2; see, also, Hegel, Städteverfassung von Italien, ch. III, p. 355, and authorities there cited,) and that they very generally became *aldii* or serfs of the Langobards just as other subject-peoples had been during the previous wanderings of that nation. *Aldius* first meant "man," then "common man," then the "half free" man, bound to the soil (Hartmann, II, 1, 8). Rothari's Edict, though it scarcely mentions the Romans as such, contains many enactments concerning the *aldius*, who apparently did not differ greatly from the Roman *colonus* who cultivated the ground for his master and could not change his condition or his home, but could not have his rent raised arbitrarily, nor be sold as a slave apart from the land. We are not expressly told in the Edict that the Romans were *aldii* but this seems implied. The fine for killing or crippling an *aldius* was payable to his master, probably to indemnify him for the loss of a valuable farm laborer. The condition of the workmen in the cities however is more doubtful and also the condition of the Romans of the higher class, if any, who survived (Hodgkin, VI, 586–592).

The third exacted by the Langobards may have been one-third of the *gross product* of the land, which would be more than half the net product and would leave a slender margin for the cultivator and his family (Hodgkin, VI, 582). This was the view originally taken by Savigny (Geschichte des Römischen Rechts, I, ch. V, p. 400), but he afterwards changed his opinion and considered that the tribute was one-third of the net produce of the land (see Hegel, Städteverfassung von Italien, I, ch. 3, p. 356, note).

the coming of Alboin[1] and of his whole people, the churches were despoiled, the priests killed, the cities overthrown, the people who had grown up like crops annihilated, and besides those regions which Alboin had taken, the greater part of Italy was seized and subjugated by the Langobards.

The Langobards were thus exempted from agricultural labor and as absentee landlords, could live in the cities or at the court on the tribute thus paid by their "hosts." This idleness on the one side and servitude upon the other exercised a demoralizing influence, and the Langobard system was much more injurious than the actual division of land under Theodoric and Odoacar where the substantial liberty of the Romans might still be preserved.

Hartmann (II, 1, 41, 42) believes that the payment of one-third the produce of the land was a mere temporary arrangement while Alboin and the Langobards were acquiring possession of the country, and that afterwards, when they were permanently settled in the country, the Langobards took the places of the former proprietors and received all the profits of their estates. There seems no good reason to think, however, that such complete expropriation was universal.

[1] Paul scarcely means that all this occurred in the seventh year alone but during the seven years of Langobard occupation. This was the statement of Gregory of Tours whom Paul followed (IV, 41), see Jacobi, 34.

BOOK III.

Chapter I.

Some of the dukes of the Langobards then, with a strong army invaded Gaul.[1] Hospitius, a man of God, who had been cloistered at Nicea (Nice), foresaw their invasion a long while beforehand, by revelation of the Holy Spirit, and predicted to the citizens of that city what calamities were impending. For he was a man of the greatest abstinence and of praiseworthy life, who, bound by iron chains upon his flesh and clad with goat's hair, used bread alone and a few dates for his food. But in the days of Lent he was nourished by the roots of Egyptian herbs which hermits use, the gift of some merchants. The Lord deemed it fitting that great and excellent things should be accomplished by him, which are written in the books of the reverend man Gregory, bishop of Tours. This holy man then, predicted the coming of the Langobards into Gaul in this manner: "The Langobards," he says, "will come into Gaul and will lay waste seven cities because their wickedness has waxed great in the sight of the Lord, for all the people are addicted to perjuries, guilty of thefts, intent upon plunder,

[1] An invasion of Gaul, probably a mere foray, is mentioned by Marius of Avenches as having occurred in 569, immediately after Alboin's invasion of Italy. It was evidently a failure, for it was stated that many Langobard captives were sold into slavery (Pabst, 410, note 2). The particular invasion mentioned in the text occurred not earlier than 570 (Hodgkin, V, 216).

ready for murders; the fruit of justice is not in them, tithes are not given, the poor man is not fed, the naked is not clothed, the stranger is not received in hospitality. Therefore is this blow about to come upon that people." Also advising his monks, he said: "Depart also from this place, taking away with you what you have, for behold, the nation I foretold is approaching." And when they said, "We will not abandon thee, most holy Father," he replied, "Fear not for me, it will come to pass that they will inflict injuries upon me, but they will not harm me to my death."

CHAPTER II.

And when the monks had departed, the army of the Langobards drew near. And while it was destroying all it found, it came to the place where the holy man was cloistered. He showed himself to them through the window of a tower. But when they, going around the tower, sought an entrance through which they could pass in to him, and found none at all, two of them climbed upon the roof and uncovered it. And seeing him bound with chains and clad in goat's skin, they said: "He is a malefactor and has committed murder, therefore he is held bound in these fetters," and when they had called an interpreter they inquired from him what evil deed he had committed that he was bound in such punishment, and he declared that he was a murderer and guilty of all crimes. Then one of them drew his sword to cut off his head, but straightway his right hand stiffened while suspended in the act of striking, nor could he draw it back. So he let go of the sword and

dropped it upon the ground. His companions seeing these things raised a cry to heaven entreating the saint that he would graciously make known what they should do. And he indeed, having made the sign of salvation, restored the withered arm to health. And the Langobard who had been healed was converted to the faith of Christ and was straightway made a priest and then a monk, and remained in that same place up to the end of his life in the service of God. But when the blessed Hospitius had spoken the word of God to the Langobards, two dukes who heard him reverently, returned safe and sound to their own country, but certain ones who had despised his words perished miserably in that same Provincia.[1]

Chapter III.

Then while the Langobards were devastating Gaul, Amatus, the patrician of Provincia, a subject of Gunthram, king of the Franks, led an army against them, and when the battle began, he fled and was there killed. And the Langobards made so great a slaughter of the Burgundians that the number of the slain could not be reckoned, and enriched with incalculable booty they returned to Italy.

Chapter IV.

When they had departed, Eunius, who was also called Mummulus, being summoned by the king, acquired the

[1] Provence, a district on the Mediterranean at the mouth of the Rhone, the first part of Gaul to become, and the last to remain a Roman province (Hodgkin, V, 200).

honor of the patriciate, and when the Langobards again invaded Gaul[1] and came as far as Mustiascalmes (Moutiers),[2] which place lies near the city of Ebredunum (Embrun), Mummulus moved his army and set out thither with the Burgundians. And when the Langobards were surrounded by his army and trees were felled in their way[3] among the winding paths of the woods, he rushed upon them and killed many of them and captured some and sent them to Gunthram his king.[4] And the Langobards, when these things were done, returned to Italy.

Chapter V.

Afterwards the Saxons who had come with the Langobards into Italy, broke into Gaul and established their camp within the territory of Regia, that is, at the villa Stablo (Establon),[5] dispersing themselves among the villas of the neighboring cities, seizing booty, taking off captives and laying all things waste. When Mummulus learned this, he attacked them with his army and killed many of them, and did not cease slaying them until night made an end, for he found men ignorant and understanding nothing of what had come upon them. But when morning came, the Saxons put their army in

[1] By way of the Col de Genèvre (Hodgkin, V, 217).

[2] In the department of the Basses Alpes.

[3] *Factis concisis*—See Du Cange, *concisa*.

[4] In this battle, Salonius, bishop of Embrun, and Sagittarius, bishop of Gap, two brothers, fought and slew many (Hodg., V, 217).

[5] Near Moutiers (Abel).

order, preparing themselves bravely for war, but by means of messengers they made peace, presents were given to Mummulus, the captives and all the booty were abandoned, and they returned to Italy.

Chapter VI.

After the Saxons had returned to Italy and had taken with them their wives and children and all their household goods, they planned to go back again to Gaul, in order that they might be received by king Sigispert and by his aid might return to their own country. For it is certain that these Saxons had come to Italy with their wives and children that they might dwell in it, yet as far as can be understood they were unwilling to be subject to the commands of the Langobards. But it was not permitted to them by the Langobards to live according to their own laws,[1] and therefore they determined to go back to their own country. When they were about to enter Gaul they formed themselves into two troops, and one troop indeed entered through the city of Nicea (Nice), but the other, through Ebredunum (Embrun), returning the same way they had gone the year before. Because it was the time of the harvests they collected and threshed grain

[1] This statement, which is accepted without question by most of the commentators, is discredited by Hartmann (II, 1, 80), who remarks that it is an addition made by Paul himself to the account of Gregory of Tours from whom he takes this part of his history, and that it comes from Paul's knowledge of the Langobard state in the eighth century which is quite unreliable for events occurring two centuries earlier.

and ate it and gave it to their animals to eat. They plundered flocks, nor did they abstain from burnings, and when they had come to the river Rodanus (Rhone), which they had to cross to reach the kingdom of Sigispert, Mummulus met them with a powerful multitude. Then seeing him they feared greatly, and giving him many coins of gold for their release, they were permitted to cross the Rodanus. While they were proceeding to king Sigispert they deceived many on the way in their dealing, selling bars of brass which were so colored, I know not how, that they imitated the appearance of proved and tested gold,[1] whence many were deceived by this fraud and giving gold and receiving brass, were made paupers. When they came at length to king Sigispert, they were allowed to go back to the place from which they had first come.

Chapter VII.

And when they had come to their own country they found it was held by Suavi (Suabians) and other peoples, as we have before related.[2] Bestirring themselves against these, they attempted to drive them out and destroy them. The Suavi however offered them a third

[1] Gregory of Tours (IV, 42) places this event at Arverni (Clermont), which seems out of the way for an army proceeding to Sigispert in Austrasia, whose capital was Metz, and Gregory says it was then spring-time, which is hard to reconcile with the statements about the threshed grain, unless indeed the Saxons wandered through Gaul until the following spring (Hodgkin, V, 192, note 1).

[2] Book II, chapter 6.

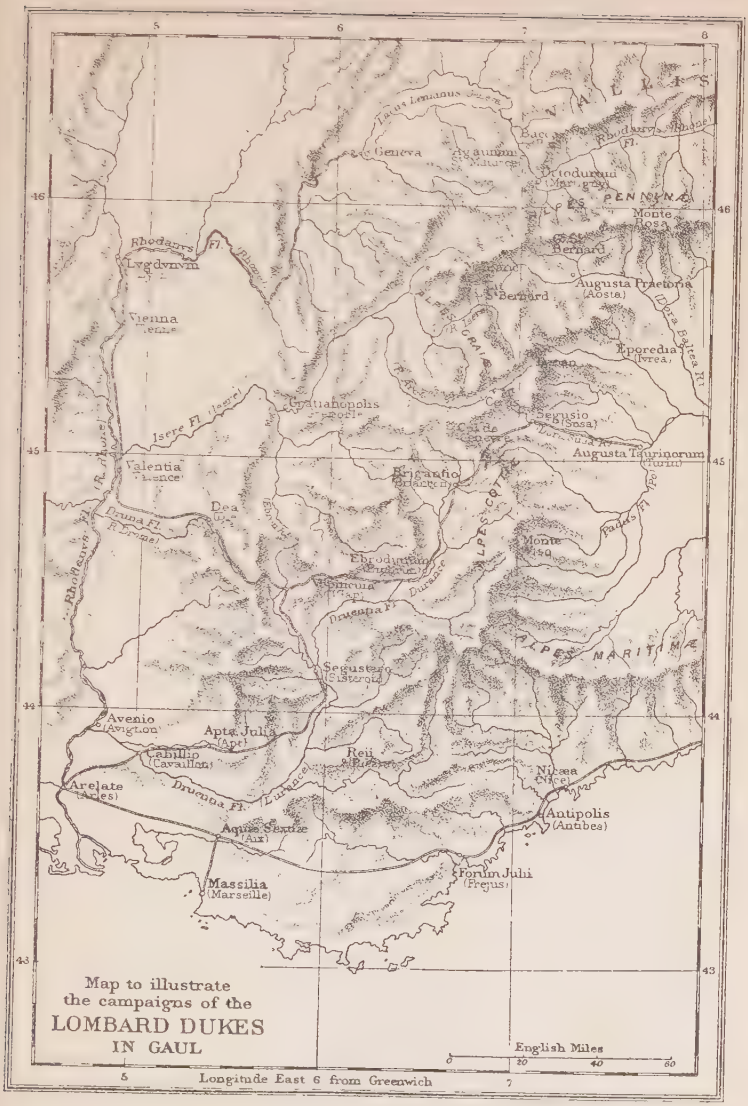
part of the region, saying: "We can live together and dwell in common without strife," and when they in no way acquiesced, the Suavi offered them a half and afterwards two parts, reserving only a third for themselves. And when they were unwilling, the Suavi offered with the land also all the flocks if only they would cease from war, but the Saxons, not content with this, sought a contest, and they had a strife among themselves beforehand in what way they should divide the wives of the Suavi. But it did not turn out with them as they thought, for when battle was joined 20,000 of them were killed, but of the Suavi four hundred and eighty fell, and the rest obtained a victory. And six thousand of the Saxons who survived the war made a vow that they would cut neither beard nor hair until they avenged themselves upon their Suabian enemies. And again going into battle, they were grievously wasted and so they ceased from war.

Chapter VIII.

After these things three dukes of the Langobards, that is, Amo, Zaban, and Rodanus, invaded Gaul,[1] and Amo indeed, taking the way of Ebredunum (Embrun), approached as far as Machoavilla (Manosque)[2] which Mummulus had acquired by gift of the king, and there he fixed his tents. Zaban however, going down by way

[1] A. D. 575. Zaban had invaded the Swiss dominions of Gunthram the year before but had been defeated and escaped to Italy (Hodgkin, V, 219).

[2] On the river Druentia (Durance), (Abel) near Avignon (Hodgkin, V, 221).


Map to illustrate
the campaigns of the
LOMBARD DUKES
IN GAUL
English Miles
0
20
40
60
Longitude East 6 from Greenwich
Geneva
Rhodanvs Fl.
Lvgdvnvm
Vienna
Isere Fl.
Gratianopolis
Valentia
Dea
Druna Fl.
Rhodanvs Fl.
Ebrodunum
Sincuia
Druentia Fl.
Segusta
Avenio
Apta Julia
Cabillio
Arelate
Aquæ Sextiæ
Massilia
Reii
Nicæa
Antipolis
Forum Julii
Bernard
Augusta Praetoria
Eporedia
Augusta Taurinorum
Brigantio
Monte Viso
Padus Fl.
ALPES PENNINÆ
ALPES GRAIÆ
ALPES COTTIÆ
ALPES MARITIMÆ
Durance
Lurance
Dora Baltea Fl.
Rhodanvs Fl.

[f. p. 100]

of the city of Dea (Die),[1] came to Valentia[2] (Valence), while Rodanus approached the city of Gratianopolis (Grenoble). Amo indeed subdued the province of Arelate (Arles) with the cities which lie around, and coming up to Stony Field itself, which lies by the city of Massilia (Marseilles), he laid waste everything he could find, and laying seige to Aquae (Aix)[3] he received twenty-two pounds of silver[4] and departed from that place. Rodanus also and Zaban in like manner destroyed by fire and rapine the places to which they had come. When these things were reported to Mummulus the patrician, he came with a strong band and fought first with Rodanus who was besieging Gratianopolis and killed many of his army, and compelled Rodanus himself, wounded by a lance, to flee to the tops of the mountains, from whence, dashing through the winding ways of the woods with five hundred men who had remained to him, he came to Zaban, who was then beseiging the city of Valentia (Valence), and reported to him all the things that had been done. And when they had come to the city of Ebredunum, in like manner plundering everything, Mummulus came to meet them with a countless army, and when battle was joined he overcame them. Then Zaban and Rodanus making their way again to Italy came to Secusium (Susa), which city Sisinnius, then master of soldiers, was holding on

[1] In the department of Drome (Abel), on the Drome.

[2] On the Rhone at the confluence of Isère (Hodgkin, V, 221).

[3] Aquae Sextiae near Marseilles.

[4] Only £66 sterling, a small ransom (Hodgkin, V, 221, note 2).

behalf of the emperor. The servant of Mummulus, coming to him, handed him a letter sent by Mummulus and said that the latter was quickly approaching. When they learned this, Zaban and Rodanus at once departed thence to their own homes. When Amo heard these things, having collected all his booty, he set out to return to Italy, but being hindered by the snows, he abandoned the greater part of his booty and was able with difficulty to break through the Alpine path with his followers, and thus he came to his own country.[1]

Chapter IX.

In these days upon the approach of the Franks the fortress of Anagnis (Nano),[2] which was situated above Tridentum (Trent) within the boundary of Italy, surrendered to them. For this reason the count[3] of the Langobards from Lagaris (Lägerthal), Ragilo by name, came and plundered Anagnis. While he was returning with his booty he was slain with many of his followers in the field of Rotalian[4] by Chramnichis, the leader of

[1] These incursions seem to have been followed by an extension of the territory of king Gunthram to the Italian side of the Alps, including both Susa and Aosta. The Langobard invasions of Gaul were not renewed (Hodg., V, 223, 4). Mummulus afterwards rebelled against Gunthram and was slain (id., 224).

[2] In the Val. di Non. A. D. 577, see Muratori Annals, Vol. III, p. 498. Hartmann (II, 1, 81) believes that this was a Byzantine (not Langobard) fortress when surrendered.

[3] As to the rank, powers, etc., of a count of the Langobards, see note to Book II, ch. 32.

[4] The date of this invasion of the Franks is placed by Hodgkin at 575–584 (VI, 27; V, 227). The chronology is very doubtful,

the Franks, who went to meet him. And this Chramnichis shortly afterwards came and devastated Tridentum.[1] And Euin, duke of Tridentum, followed and killed him with his companions in the place which is called Salurnis (Salurn), and shook out of him all the booty he had taken, and when the Franks had been driven out he took again the whole territory of Tridentum.

CHAPTER X.

At this time Sigispert, king of the Franks, was killed by the treachery of Hilperic, his brother, with whom he had waged war, and Childepert his son, still a little boy, with Brunihilde his mother, took up the management of his kingdom.[2] Euin, also, duke of the

but it preceded the elevation of Authari to the throne (Hartmann, II, 1, 81). The Rotalian field is the meadow plain at the confluence of the Noce and the Adige.

[1] That is the land around Trent. It is not likely the city was taken (Hodgkin, VI, 28).

[2] See *supra*, II, 10. The Frankish kingdom was, after the death of Theudepert in 548 (see note to II, 2, *supra*), of his child Theudebald in 555, and of Childepert in 558, again united under one monarch, Chlotochar I (Lothair), who ruled for three years over the whole kingdom and died in 561, whereupon it was divided among his four sons, one of whom, Charibert, died in 567, and the number of sovereigns was reduced to three.

There were four great divisions of the monarchy :

(1) Austrasia, assigned to Sigispert, which extended from Rheims across the Rhine an unknown distance into Germany.

(2) Neustria, the portion of Chilperic or Hilperic, comprising the Netherlands, Picardy, Normandy and Maine.

(3) Burgundy, the domain of Gunthram, embracing the region

people of Tridentum, of whom we have spoken, took

watered by the Rhone (except Provence), also Switzerland and some land in the center of Gaul.

(4) Aquitaine, stretching from the Loire to the Pyrenees, which was split up and contended for by all (Hodgkin, V, 199, 203).

Sigispert, the youngest and best of the three brothers, determined to wed a princess of his own rank and married, in 566, Brunihilde, daughter of Athanagild, the Visigothic king of Spain, whom he seems to have loved with genuine affection. Chilperic, cruel, lustful, avaricious, "the Nero and Herod of the time," took to himself many mistresses, but at last determined to follow his brother's example and sought the hand of Galswintha, another daughter of Athanagild, who reluctantly came from Spain to become his bride, and received as her "morning gift" Bordeaux and four other cities in southwestern Gaul. But Fredegundis, one of Childperic's former concubines, a fiend incarnate, but incomparable in her powers of fascination, recovered the king's affections. Galswintha was strangled, and Chilperic married her rival. His brothers endeavored to cast out so wicked an offender, and it was determined that the "morning gift" of the murdered queen should be given to her sister Brunihilde in atonement for the crime (Hodgkin, V, 204–208). Chilperic refused, and Sigispert and Gunthram sought to dethrone him. He was shut up in Tournay, and a large portion of his subjects determined to acclaim as their sovereign, Sigispert, who was raised on a shield and hailed as king by the army, but almost in the moment of his triumph, two servingmen rushed upon him and dealt him a mortal wound. The weapon, it was said, had been poisoned by Fredegundis. Sigispert's son Childepert, a child of five years, was carried back to Metz, the capital of Austrasia, was accepted as his father's successor, and reigned for twenty-one years under the tutelage of the Austrasian nobles and of his mother Brunihilde, who now lived to avenge her husband's death. She sought to accomplish this by a marriage with Merovech, the son of Chilperic by a former wife. Merovech was afterwards suspected of conspiring against his father, and died, some say at his own desire, and others that

as his wife the daughter of Garibald, king of the Bavarians.

it was by order of Fredegundis. Chilperic's rule became detestable, and in 584 he too was murdered by an unknown assassin, leaving a child three years old, Chlotochar, destined at a later time to reunite the Frankish dominions (Hodgkin, 208–214).

The Langobard invasion of Italy (A. D. 568) occurred just after the murder of Galswintha (A. D. 567), and the subsequent forays into Gaul were made possible by the dissensions among the Frankish sovereigns. These invasions appear to be mere robber raids. Most of them occurred during the ten years' interregnum while the dukes were ruling the cities of Italy without a king, and the feud between the Franks and the Langobards which thus began, ripened into an indelible national instinct and prepared the way, after the lapse of two centuries, for the destruction of the kingdom of the Langobards by Charlemagne (Hodgkin, V, 198, 199).

An interesting question arises whether there is any connection between the characters and scenes in this Frankish drama of intrigue and revenge, and the legend of Siegfried as developed in the Elder Edda, the Saga of the Volsungs and the Niebelungen Lied. The resemblance of some of the names of the heroes is very striking; that of Sigispert, for instance, to Siegfried or Sigurd, Gunthram to Gunther, Brunihilde to Brunhild. Gunther in the legend, as well as in the history, is king of Burgundy; Siegfried is treacherously slain; there is a bitter jealousy and feud between two rival queens, and in the Niebelungen Lied the character of Siegfried's widow becomes transformed by his death, and she devotes her life to avenge his assassination, and marries a foreign prince for the purpose. It is well known that certain historical characters were actually introduced into the legend. Etzel or Atli was Attila the Hun, and the Dietrich of Berne of the Niebelungen, was Theoderic the Great. Moreover, the setting of the legend recalls the times not only of the migration of the nations, but of the Merovingians, and it is this latter period which exercised the best influence upon the story. The kings are like the

Chapter XI.

During these times, as was stated above,[1] Justin the younger ruled at Constantinople, a man given to every kind of avarice, a despiser of the poor, a despoiler of senators. So great was the madness of his cupidity that he ordered iron chests made in which to collect those talents of gold which he seized. They also say that he

Merovingians, and their management of the state resembles that of the times of Gunthram and Sigispert (Scherer, Hist. German Lit., ch. 5). On the other hand, the parts are differently assigned. In the poem, Siegfried marries Kriemhild, not Brunhild, though according to the Icelandic version, it is the latter to whom his love was first pledged. The stories vary from the history in nearly all their details, and there may be reason for the belief that the Siegfried legend in some form was of earlier origin than the time of Sigispert. Still it can hardly be doubted that much of the coloring, if not the principal incidents of the story, came from this dark period in the history of the Frankish monarchy, and there seems quite as much reason to identify Siegfried and Brunhild with the sovereigns of Austrasia as to consider them, as many do, the mere personifications of natural phenomena, the development of the season myth!

Referring to the legend of buried treasure discovered by Gunthram (see chap. 34 *infra*), Hodgkin (V, 202) remarks: "Treasures buried in long departed days by kings of old, mysterious caves, reptile guides or reptile guardians—are we not transported by this strange legend into the very atmosphere of the Niebelungen Lied? And if the good king Gunthram passed for the fortunate finder of the Dragon-hoard, his brothers and their queens, by their wars, their reconciliations and their terrible avengings, must surely have suggested the main argument of that most tragical epic, the very name of one of whose heroines, Brunichildis, is identical with the name of the queen of Austrasia."

[1] See Book II, Chap. 5.

fell into the Pelagian heresy.[1] When he turned away the ear of his heart from the Divine commands he became mad, having lost the faculty of reason by the just judgment of God. He took Tiberius as his Caesar to govern his palace and his different provinces, a man just, useful, energetic, wise, benevolent, equitable in his judgments, brilliant in his victories, and what was more important than all these things, a most true Christian. From the treasures which Justin had collected he brought out many things for the use of the poor, and the empress Sophia often upbraided him that he would reduce the state to poverty, saying, "What I have been collecting through many years you are scattering prodigally in a short time." But he said: "I trust to the Lord that money will not be lacking in our treasury so long as the poor receive charity and captives are ransomed. For this is the great treasure, since the Lord says, 'Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt and where thieves do not break through nor steal.' Therefore of these things which God has furnished us let us gather treasures in heaven, and God will deign to give us increase in this world." Then when Justin had reigned eleven years,[2] he ended at last the madness he had fallen into together with his life. During his time indeed were waged the wars which, as we before said in advance, were carried

[1] That there was no original sin and that God's grace was not indispensable. So called from the monk Pelagius, by whom it was taught, who died about A. D. 420.

[2] Almost thirteen years (Waitz).

on by Narses the patrician against the Goths and the Franks.[1] In fine also, when Rome at the time of pope Benedict was suffering the privation of hunger, while the Langobards were destroying everything on every side, he[2] sent many thousand bushels of grain in ships straight from Egypt and relieved it by the effort of his benevolence.

Chapter XII.

When Justin was dead[3] Tiberius Constantine, the fiftieth of the Roman emperors, assumed the sovereignty. While he was still Caesar under Justin as we said above, and was managing the palace and performing many acts of charity every day, God furnished him a great abundance of gold. For while walking through the palace he saw on the pavement of the house a marble slab on which the cross of our Lord was carved, and he said: "We ought to adorn our forehead and our breast with our Lord's cross and behold we trample it under our feet," and this said, he quickly ordered the slab to be lifted up. And underneath the slab when it was dug out and set up, they found another having the same device. And he ordered this also to be raised, and when it was moved they found also a third, and when this too was taken away by his command, they found a great treasure, containing more than a thousand cente-

[1] Incorrect; these wars were waged under Justinian (II, 1 *et seq. supra;* Waitz), although it was to Justin that the complaints were afterwards made of Narses' administration.

[2] That is, Justin (see Muratori Annals, A. D. 578, vol. 3, p. 501).

[3] He died October 5, 578 (Hodgkin, V, 197).

naria[1] of gold, and the gold was carried away and distributed among the poor yet more abundantly than had been customary. Also Narses the patrician of Italy, since he had a great dwelling in a certain city of Italy, came to the above-mentioned city with many treasures, and there in his dwelling he secretly dug a great cistern in which he deposited many thousand centenaria of gold and silver. And when all who knew of the matter had been killed, he entrusted these to the care of one old man only, exacting from him an oath. And when Narses had died, the above-mentioned old man, coming to Caesar Tiberius, said, "If it profit me anything, I will tell you, Caesar, an important thing." The latter said to him, "Say what you will. It will be of advantage to you if you shall tell anything which will profit us." "I have," he said, "the treasure of Narses hidden away, which I, being near the end of my life, cannot longer conceal." Then Caesar Tiberius was delighted and sent his servants up to the place, and the old man went ahead[2] and they followed in astonishment, and coming to the cistern, when it was opened they entered it. So much gold and silver was found in it that it could with difficulty be emptied in many days by those carrying its contents. Almost all of this he bestowed upon the needy in bountiful distribution according to his custom. When he was about to accept the imperial crown, and the people were

[1] The centenarium is a hundred pounds weight (Du Cange). According to Hodgkin (V, 196) this thousand centenaria would equal four million pounds sterling, an incredible sum.

[2] Literally "withdrawing."

expecting him at the spectacle in the circus according to usage, and were preparing an ambuscade for him that they might raise Justinian, the nephew of Justin, to the imperial dignity, he first proceeded through the consecrated places, then he called to him the pontiff of the city and entered the palace with the consuls and prefects, and clad in the purple, crowned with the diadem and placed upon the imperial throne, he was confirmed with immense applause in the honor of the sovereignty. His adversaries hearing this, and not being able in any way to injure him who had placed his hope in God, were covered with great shame and confusion. And after a few days had elapsed, Justinian came and cast himself at the foot of the emperor bringing him fifteen centenaria of gold for the sake of pardon. Tiberius, raising him up in his patient way, commanded him to place himself in the palace at his side. But the empress Sophia, unmindful of the promise she had previously made to Tiberius, attempted to carry on a plot against him. And when he proceeded to his villa according to imperial custom, to enjoy for thirty days the pleasures of the vintage, she secretly called Justinian and wished to raise him to the sovereignty. When this was discovered, Tiberius returned in great haste to Constantinople, arrested the empress and despoiled her of all her treasures, leaving her only the nourishment of her daily food. And when he had separated her servants from her he put others at her service of those devoted to himself, commanding absolutely that none of the former ones should have access to her. But Justinian, whom he punished only by words, he

afterwards cherished with so great a love that he promised his own daughter to his son, and on the other hand asked Justinian's daughter for his own son. But this thing, from what cause I know not, did not at all come to pass. The army sent by him completely subdued the Persians, and returning victorious, brought, together with twenty elephants, so great a quantity of booty as would be thought enough to satisfy human cupidity.

Chapter XIII.

When Hilperic, king of the Franks, sent messengers to this sovereign, he received from him many trinkets, and gold pieces too, of a pound each, having on the one side the image of the emperor and the words written in a circle, "Of Tiberius Constantine Universal Emperor," and having on the other side a quadriga with a driver[1] and containing the inscription "The glory of the Romans." In his days while the blessed Gregory, the deacon who afterwards became Pope, was papal delegate at the same imperial city, he composed books of Morals[2] and vanquished in debate in the presence of the emperor himself, Euthicius,[3] a bishop of that city who fell into error regarding the resurrection.[4] Also at this time

[1] *Ascensor*, literally, one who went up in it.

[2] The object of this treatise was to show that the book of Job comprehended all natural theology and morals.

[3] Not the same as Eutyches, leader of the Eutychian heresy, who lived in the preceding century.

[4] Euthicius maintained that the resurrection body of the saints will be more subtile than ether and too rare to be perceived by the senses, a view which Gregory contested (Hodgkin, V, 293).

Faroald, first duke of the Spoletans, invaded Classis[1] with an army of Langobards and left the rich city stripped, plundered of all its wealth.[2]

Chapter XIV.

The patriarch Probinus, having died at Aquileia after he had ruled the church one year, the priest Helias (Elias) was set over that church.

[1] The harbor of Ravenna.

[2] While Paul has been narrating many events which took place in Gaul or at Constantinople, he has been neglecting the transactions in Italy, to which he now for a moment returns. Among the events of the interregnum, while the dukes held sway over the Langobards, and Longinus, the prefect, governed the Roman portion of Italy, was the first serious resistance offered to the Langobard invasion. Alboin had encountered little opposition, for the inhabitants of the open country fled to the cities which held out for a shorter or longer period, the Romans hoping, no doubt, that this invasion, like others which had preceded it, would soon be over and that the barbarians would retire. But in 575 or 576, Baduarius, the son-in-law of the emperor Justin II, assembled in Ravenna a considerable body of troops, and went forth and gave battle to the invaders. He was overthrown and died. It is not known what part of the forces of the various Langobard dukedoms were his antagonists. Probably it was those who were advancing towards the south and who, not far from this time, established the important dukedoms of Spoleto and Benevento under dukes Faroald and Zotto respectively (Hartmann, II, 1, 47). The taking of Classis by Faroald mentioned in the text probably occurred about 579, while Longinus was still prefect (Hodgkin, V, 197; VI, 90, 91, note). The city was afterwards retaken from the Langobards by Droctulft (III, 19, *infra*).

CHAPTER XV.

After Tiberius Constantine had ruled the empire seven years, he felt the day of his death impending and with the approval of the empress Sophia, he chose Maurice, a Cappadocian by race, an energetic man, for the sovereignty, and gave him his daughter adorned with the royal decorations, saying, "Let my sovereignty be delivered to thee with this girl. Be happy in the use of it, mindful always to love equity and justice." After he had said these things he departed from this life to his eternal home, leaving great grief to the nation on account of his death.[1] For he was of the greatest goodness, ready in giving alms, just in his decisions, most careful in judging, despising no one, but including all in his good will; loving all, he was also beloved by all. When he was dead, Maurice, clad in the purple and encircled with the diadem, proceeded to the circus, and his praises having been acclaimed, gifts were bestowed upon the people, and he, as the first (emperor) of the race of the Greeks, was confirmed in the imperial power.

CHAPTER XVI.

But the Langobards indeed, when they had been under the power of dukes for ten years, determined at length by common consent that Authari, the son of their sovereign Cleph, above mentioned, should be their king. And they called him also Flavius[2] on account of

[1] A. D. 582 (Hodgkin, V, 227).

[2] A title borrowed from the family name of Vespasian and Titus, afterwards used by a number of their successors and by the em-

his high office. All those who were afterwards kings of the Langobards auspiciously used this name. In his days on account of the re-establishment of the kingdom, those who were then dukes gave up half of their possessions for royal uses that there might be the means from which the king himself and those who should attend him and those devoted to his service throughout the various offices might be supported.[1] The oppressed people, however, were parcelled out among their Langobard guests.[2] There was indeed this admirable thing in

perors of the East and thence transferred to other sovereigns, for example, to Odoacar (Hodgkin, V, 234) and to the Visigothic kings of Spain after Recared (Abel, p. 60). It was used to signify that the Langobard king had succeeded to the imperial dignity.

[1] The powers of the king are nowhere clearly defined. It should be noted that he was king of the Langobard people (not king of Italy), and that the Romans, who were not free subjects, were not taken into consideration (Hartmann, II, 2, 30). It would seem (Hodgkin, VI, 568) that the laws were devised by him after consultation with the principal men and nobles, and then accepted by the army, which formed the assembly of the people. The king was the supreme judge, but was assisted by jurors in coming to his conclusions. The highest criminal jurisdiction was exercised by him, sometimes immediately in cases of great importance, but more frequently by means of his officers. He had the highest police jurisdiction. Without his permission no free man accompanied by his clan (*fara*) might change his residence. Churches and convents were under his protection. He represented a woman as against her guardian and a retainer as against his lord.

[2] "*Populi tamen adgravati per Langobardos hospites partiuntur.*" This is one of the most important passages in Paul's history, as it furnishes almost the only existing statement of the condition of the Roman population under the early Langobard kings. It has

the kingdom of the Langobards. There was no vio-

been considered very obscure, and various interpretations have been given. Giansvero renders it: "And the people, oppressed by their Langobard guests, are divided." Abel translates nearly as in the text. Hodgkin (V, 232) renders it thus: "(In this division) the subject populations who had been assigned to their several guests were included." This departs widely from the Latin text, though it may well be the actual meaning. Capponi (Sui Langobardi in Italia 18, see Scritti Editi e Inediti, 75, 77) believes that the sentence means that the tributary populations remained divided among the Langobard guests, and that the property only was ceded to the king. But Hodgkin asks (VI, 585) why the lands should be given to the king stripped of the Roman *aldii* to cultivate them, and what the dukes who surrendered part of their land would do with the increased population now thrown wholly upon the remainder. Villari insists (Le Invasioni Barbariche in Italia, pp. 265, 266) that the property which the Langobard dukes divided with the king was that which they had taken from the Roman nobles they had killed (II, 32 *supra*), or which they had confiscated in other ways, and that there still remained to these dukes the third of the products of the lands possessed by the Romans, and he adds (p. 273) that the "oppressed people" were the same as those who had been made tributaries before (II, 32 *supra*), and who, therefore, had been and still remained divided among the Langobard proprietors who surrendered to the king half of the lands which were their free and full property. Savigny says (Geschichte des Römischen Rechts, I, chap. 5, p. 401): "The king was endowed by the nobles. The Romans were in the meantime divided among the individual Langobards as their *hospites* and the old relation between them remained unchanged." Hegel says: "There was no change in the general condition of the conquered Romans. They remained divided among their *hospites*." Troya (Storia d'Italia, I, 5 ccccx) contends that the true reading is *patiuntur* for *partiuntur*. "The dukes gave one-half of their property to the king, nevertheless the populations oppressed by the Langobard guests suffered for it."

lence, no ambuscades were laid, no one constrained another unjustly, no one took spoils, there were no thefts,

The dukes made up for their patriotic surrender by screwing a larger tribute out of the oppressed Romans. But Hodgkin remarks (VI, 586, note) that this does not agree with the sentence that follows about the golden age. Since Paul no longer speaks of the products of the land, some think (see Villari, pp. 265, 266, 273) that the third of the rents was changed into a third of the lands, and believe that since the Langobards had made new acquisitions of territory, a division was made of the new lands for the benefit of those who had to give the king part of their own possessions.

It does not seem to me that the above passage is as difficult as it has been considered. In the parcelling out of the people among their Langobard guests, the king, through his representative (his *actor*, or perhaps his *gastaldus*), may well have been one of these "guests," a word which, as we have seen, was the euphemistic name assumed by the Langobards who settled upon the lands of the Romans and took a share of the products. In that case the literal translation given in the text would be entirely appropriate, and yet there would be no shifting of the population nor any change in the system of dividing the products of the land.

One great difficulty with the passage has been to explain the use of the word *tamen* (however), the usual meaning of which is adversative. Crivellucci (Studii Storici, 1899, 255) shows that out of forty-eight instances in which this conjunction is used by Paul in this history, there are six places where it might properly be given a copulative meaning equivalent to "and" or "also," and one place where such a meaning is required, viz., at the beginning of chapter 23, book II. It is certain that this conjunction as well as *nihilominus*, its equivalent, was often used by Paul, either with a variable meaning or else most inexpressively, and that its use here ought not to interfere with a translation of this passage, which is in other respects both reasonable and literal.

As to the condition of this subject Roman population see note to II, 32, *supra*.

no robberies, every one proceeded whither he pleased, safe and without fear.[1]

Chapter XVII.

At this time the emperor Maurice sent by his ambassadors to Childepert, king of the Franks, 50,000 solidi[2] to make an attack with his army upon the Langobards and drive them from Italy, and Childepert suddenly entered Italy with a countless multitude of Franks.[3] The Langobards indeed intrenched themselves in their towns and when messengers had passed between the parties and gifts had been offered they made peace with Childepert.[4] When he had returned

[1] This description of the golden age is not borne out by the facts (Pabst, 425, note 2).

[2] The value of the gold solidus (here referred to) differed at different times. Hodgkin places it at twelve shillings, so that this 50,000 solidi was equal to £30,000 (V, 228). He also (VI, 413, 414) gives a table of the purchasing power of the solidus about the time of Liutprand, which was more than a century later than the period in question. The average value of a slave varied from sixty solidi to sixteen; a new olive garden sold for eight solidi; half a house in Pisa for nine; a garden in Lucca for fifteen; a bed, tunic and mantle for ten solidi each; a horse with trappings for one hundred solidi, etc. Personalty seems to have had a high value in comparison with real estate.

[3] Paul erroneously places the elevation of Authari to the throne before the arrangement made by the emperor Maurice with Childpert II, A. D. 582, for a common enterprise against the Langobards. In fact, it was the threatened danger of foreign invasion which induced the dukes to strengthen their military power by the creation of a king (Jacobi, 35).

[4] Gregory of Tours, from whom Paul took this statement, says

to Gaul, the emperor Maurice, having learned that he had made a treaty with the Langobards, asked for the return of the solidi he had given in consideration of the overthrow of the Langobards. But Childepert, relying upon the strength of his resources, would not give an answer in this matter.

Chapter XVIII.

When these things had been done in this way, king Authari approached the city of Brexillus (Brescello), situated on the bank of the Po,[1] to capture it. Thither duke Droctulft had fled from the Langobards and surrendering to the emperor's party, and being joined by his soldiers, resisted bravely the army of the Langobards. This man was descended from the race of Suavi (Suabians), that is, of the Alamanni, and had grown up among the Langobards, and because he was of an excellent figure, had acquired the honor of a dukedom, but when he found an occasion of avenging his captivity[2] he suddenly rose against the arms of the Langobards. The Langobards waged grievous wars against him and at length overcame him together with the soldiers he was aiding, and compelled him to withdraw to Ravenna. Brexillus was taken and its walls were

the Langobards submitted to Childepert's dominion (H. F., 6, 42). Probably these gifts were considered as tribute.

[1] Twelve miles from Parma and on the Aemilian way (Hodgkin, V, 243).

[2] He had apparently been taken prisoner by the Imperial troops, and resented his lack of support by the other Langobard dukes, to whom he considered he owed his captivity (Hodgkin, V, 242).

levelled to the ground. After these things king Authari made peace for three years with the patrician Smaragdus,[1] who was then in authority at Ravenna.

Chapter XIX.

With the support of this Droctulft, of whom we have spoken, the soldiers of the Ravenna people often fought against the Langobards, and after a fleet was built, they drove out with his aid the Langobards who were holding the city of Classis.[2] And when he had filled the limit of life, they gave him an honorable sepulcher in front of the church of the holy martyr Vitalis,[3] and set forth his praises in the following epitaph:

Drocton lies buried within this tomb, but only in body,
For in his merits he lives, over the orb of the world.
First with the Langobards he dwelt, for by race and by nature
Sprung from Suavian stock, suave to all people was he.

[1] Smaragdus had been appointed in 585 to succeed the incapable Longinus (Hodgkin, V, 242). This treaty was made very shortly afterwards (Waitz).

[2] The port of Ravenna. The dates conjectured for this event vary from A. D. 584 to 588 (Hodgkin, VI, 91, 92).

[3] This church, an octagonal building in the Byzantine style, was completed in the year 547, with the aid of contributions made by the emperor Justinian and the empress Theodora. Its walls were adorned with exquisite mosaics which are still in an excellent state of preservation. St. Vitalis was the patron saint of Ravenna. He came to that city from Milan during the persecution under Nero, A. D. 62, at a time when St. Ursicinus was about to suffer martyrdom. He sustained and encouraged Ursicinus, who was terrified at the torments he was compelled to undergo, and after his death Vitalis buried him, and was thereupon arrested, tortured, and buried alive (Larousse).

Terrible to be seen was his face, though in heart he was kindly,
Long was the beard that grew down on his vigorous breast.
Loving the standards of Rome and the emblems of the republic,
Aid unto them he brought, crushing the power of his race.
Love unto us he bore, despising the claims of his kindred,
Deeming Ravenna his own fatherland, dear to his heart.
First of his valiant deeds was the glory of captured Brexillus.
There for a time he remained, dreadful to all of his foes.
Later when here his power brought aid to the Roman standards
First within his hands rested the banner of Christ.
Afterwards when Faroald withheld by treachery Classis,
"Fleet-town" [1] in hope to avenge, arms for the fleet he prepares,
Struggles in tiny ships on the flowing stream of Badrinus. [2]
Conquers and overcomes numberless Langobard [3] bands,
Vanquishes also in lands of the East the impetuous Avar,
Seeking to win for his lords victory's sovereign palm.
Often to them as a conq'ror, sustained by the aid of Vitalis,
Martyr and holy saint, honored with triumphs he came.
And in the fane of Vitalis he sought the repose of his body,
Pleased that this place should hold, after his death, his remains
When he died, he implored these things of the priest Joannes, [4]
By whose pious love he had returned to these lands. [5]

[1] *Classis*, "a fleet" being the name of the town.

[2] Padoreno, say some, (Waitz) but this was one of the mouths of the Po more than thirty miles distant (Hodg., V, 247 note).

[3] In the original the Langobards are called *Bardi*, a name which recalls the Bardengau and Bardowick of the Elbe region.

[4] Johannes III, bishop of Ravenna, 578–595 (Hodgkin V, 248 note 2).

[5] A somewhat freer translation in rhyme is given in Hodgkin (V, 247).

Chapter XX.

Finally, after pope Benedict, Pelagius[1] was ordained pontiff of the Roman church without the authority of the emperor, because the Langobards had besieged and surrounded Rome, and no one could leave the city. This Pelagius sent to Helias (Elias), bishop of Aquileia, who was unwilling to respect the Three Chapters[2] of the

[1] The second of that name. This election of Pelagius actually occurred in 578–579 (Hodgkin, V, 195), and is placed by Paul at too late a period, after the elevation of Authari to the throne (Jacobi, 48, 49).

[2] Paul is mistaken in calling them the "Three Chapters of the Synod of Chalcedon." The Three Chapters were the doctrines of three bishops, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa, which were condemned by the Synod of Constantinople in 532 (Waitz, P. III, 26, note). It was, however, considered by many that this condemnation affected the validity of the decrees of the previous Council of Chalcedon. Paul is also in error in saying that Elias was unwilling to respect the Three Chapters. It was Elias who supported these doctrines and it was Pope Pelagius who condemned them.

The controversy regarding the Three Chapters which agitated the church from the time of Justinian (543) to that of Cuninepert (698), had its origin in still older disputes concerning the incarnation of the Messiah. Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea, taught that there was one incarnate nature of Christ; that the God-head was united to the body of a man, and the *Logos*, the Eternal Wisdom, supplied in him the place of a human soul. These teachings were condemned as heresy, and at the beginning of the fifth century the combination of two natures was the prevailing doctrine of the church, yet the mode of the co-existence of these natures could not be represented by our ideas nor expressed by our language, and contention began between those who most dreaded to confound, and those who most feared to separate the divinity and the

Synod of Chalcedon, a very salutary letter which the

humanity of Christ. Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, was at the head of one faction and Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, at the head of the other. Both were fanatical and intolerant. Nestorius abhorred the confusion of the two natures and repudiated the doctrine that the Virgin was the mother of God. Cyril espoused the side of a greater unity in Christ's nature. Pope Celestine approved his creed and condemned the doctrine of Nestorius. The first Council of Ephesus was called, and amid much tumult and violence Cyril was upheld and Nestorius pronounced a heretic. Cyril, however, softened to some extent his previous anathemas, and confessed with some ambiguity the union of a twofold nature in Christ. Eutyches, an abbot of Constantinople, was the head of a sect that was so extreme in its opposition to the doctrine of Nestorius that it incurred itself the reproach of heresy. Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, condemned the doctrine of Eutyches. A second council was summoned at Ephesus, but it was dominated like the first by the patriarch of Alexandria and it accepted his doctrine. A furious multitude of monks and soldiers broke into the church. Flavian was buffeted and kicked and trampled until he expired from his wounds, and the Council of Ephesus has passed into history as "The Robber Synod." Pope Leo the Great was not in accord with the doctrine of Eutyches. His famous *Tome* or epistle on the mystery of the Incarnation had been disregarded at the last Council of Ephesus, but upon the death of the emperor Theodosius, the decrees of that council were overthrown, the *Tome* of Leo was subscribed by the Oriental bishops, and a new council was summoned at Chalcedon, near Constantinople. (Gibbon, ch. 47.) In this council (Hodgson, Early History of Venice, pp. 44 and 45) Leo's letter was accepted as the orthodox doctrine and as a refutation of Eutyches, and it was declared that the two natures of Christ existed without any "confusion, conversion, division or separation." At the same time certain letters of Cyril were accepted as a refutation of Nestorius, and the controversy was now regarded as settled. This council was held in the year 451. Nearly a century

blessed Gregory composed while he was still a deacon.

afterwards when Justinian came to the throne, he and his wife Theodora re-opened the question by issuing an edict against certain writings of three men long dead—Theodore of Mopsuestia, whose orthodoxy had always been doubtful, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, who had been condemned by the Robber Synod and reinstated by the Council of Chalcedon, and a bishop of Edessa named Ibas. The emperor's edict set forth certain passages from the writings of these men and anathematized them as infected with Nestorianism. The condemned doctrines were known as "The Three Chapters." The papacy was then held by the weak and irresolute Vigilius, a creature of Theodora, whose election to office had been tainted with simony. When the imperial decree was promulgated against the Three Chapters, the Western church which had supported the Council of Chalcedon, naturally opposed it, and Vigilius came to Constantinople in 547 pledged against the emperor's edict. But when he had been in that city a little more than a year, he was induced by flattery and promises to issue his *Judicatum*, which assented to the emperor's doctrine, "saving, however, the Council of Chalcedon." The remonstrances of the western bishops led him again to reconsider his position. In 550, the *Judicatum* was withdrawn; in 551, the pope pronounced a solemn condemnation of Justinian's advisers in the matter. The emperor now resorted to violence, Vigilius was roughly handled, a general council was summoned at Constantinople which was attended almost exclusively by eastern bishops. The pope took no part except to send to that body a *Constitutum* in which he asserted his right to guide the opinions of all churchmen and annul all decrees inconsistent with his teachings. He did not defend the orthodoxy of Theodore, but in regard to Ibas and Theodoret, he adhered to the approval given them at Chalcedon. But after the Council of Constantinople had disregarded his authority and anathematized the Three Chapters, and the emperor was proceeding to banish him for contumacy, he retracted, finding that the decrees of this council were not irreconcilable with those of Chalcedon (Hodgson, 46, 47), and after his death Pelagius I, his

Chapter XXI.

Meanwhile Childepert, king of the Franks, waged war

successor, ratified the condemnation of the Three Chapters. After the papacy had thus committed itself to the views of Justinian, it became very earnest in its advocacy of these views, although the churches of Spain and Gaul refused to condemn the Three Chapters, while Milan, Aquileia and the churches of Istria went further and refused communion with all who held with the Council of Constantinople (Hodgson, 48, 49).

Paulinus, who was bishop of Aquileia from about 558 to 570, assembled a synod in which Pelagius, Justinian and Narses were all excommunicated (Filiasi, V, 255). John III, the successor of Pelagius, tried to convert the schismatics, but failed, whereupon Narses proceeded by command of Justinian against the rebellious bishops. After two years of turmoil Justinian died, whereupon the tumult partly subsided, and Narses sought to quiet it rather by skill than by violence (Hodgson, 48, 49). After the invasion of the Langobards in 568 Paulinus moved the See of Aquileia from that city to Grado, and soon afterwards died (P. II, 10). Probinus, who followed him, was also a schismatic, as well as Elias, his successor, who held a synod in Grado, which sent legates to Constantinople, and prevailed upon the emperor to leave the schismatics in peace (Hodgson, 48, 49). John III was succeeded by Benedict, and he by Pelagius II (Hodgkin, V, 460), who wrote to Elias exhorting the Istrians to abandon the schism, and inviting them to send bishops and presbyters to Rome to receive satisfaction on all the points upon which they were in doubt (Hodgkin, V, 462, 3). The messengers were sent, but evidently not to receive the promised explanation, for they brought with them a sharp definition of the views of the schismatics, demanding in effect that the pope himself should give way. Pelagius in a second letter argued the question with them and demanded that they should send instructed persons able to give and receive a reason in debate. The Istrian bishops sent another letter announcing their own authoritative decision, and it was to this second let-

against the Spaniards and overcame them in battle.[1] And this was the cause of the struggle: King Childepert had given Ingundis his sister in marriage to Herminigild, son of Levigild, king of the Spaniards. And this Herminigild, by the preaching of Leander, bishop of Hispalis (Seville), and by the exhortation of his wife, had been converted from the Arian heresy, in which his father was languishing, to the Catholic faith, and his impious father had caused him put to death by the axe upon the very holiday of Easter.[2] Ingundis indeed fled from the Spaniards after the death of her husband and martyr,[3] and when she sought to return to Gaul, she

ter that Pelagius sent as his answer the "useful epistle" composed by Gregory, and referred to in the text (Hodgkin, V, 465). The argument insists that Pope Leo had not confirmed *all* the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, but had rather reserved private and personal matters; that the acts of the three Syrian bishops might be considered as included in this reservation; that the Council had impliedly condemned these bishops since it had approved of Cyril and the Council of Ephesus which they opposed; that there was good authority for anathematizing heretics even after their death, and that the long reluctance by Vigilius and the Western bishops to accept the decrees of the Council of Constantinople, arose from their ignorance of Greek and gave all the more value to their final conclusions. The letter however, did not convert the schismatics, and more violent measures were soon taken (Hodgkin V, 565–567) as we shall see hereafter (Book III, ch. 26 and note).

[1] Paul is in error regarding this war. It was conducted not by Childepert, but by Gunthram, and was unsuccessful (Jacobi, 36).

[2] This fact is doubtful (Hodgkin, V, 255). He was probably assassinated, although he seems to have raised the standard of rebellion against his father (Hartmann, II, 1, 66).

[3] He was not regarded as a martyr by Gregory of Tours (VI, 43), but as a rebel against his father.

fell into the hands of the soldiers who were stationed on the boundary opposite the Spanish Goths, and was taken with her little son and brought to Sicily and there ended her days.[1] But her son was sent to Constantinople to the emperor Maurice.

Chapter XXII.

The emperor Maurice on the other hand dispatched ambassadors to Childepert and persuaded him to send his army into Italy against the Langobards.[2] Childepert, thinking that his sister was still living at Constantinople, gave his assent to the ambassadors of Maurice and again sent the army of the Franks to Italy against the Langobards so that he could get his sister. And when the army of the Langobards hastened against them, the Franks and Alamanni, having a quarrel among themselves, returned to their own country without securing any advantage.

Chapter XXIII.

At this time[3] there was a deluge of water in the territories of Venetia and Liguria, and in other regions of Italy such as is believed not to have existed since the time of Noah. Ruins were made of estates and country seats, and at the same time a great destruction of men and animals. The paths were obliterated, the highways demolished, and the river Athesis (Adige)

[1] The soldiers into whose hands Ingundis fell were Greeks. She probably died at Carthage in Africa (Hodgkin, V, 256), not in Sicily.

[2] About 587 (Hodgkin, V, 258). [3] 589 (Hodgkin, V, 261).

then rose so high that around the church of the blessed martyr Zeno, which is situated outside the walls of the city of Verona, the water reached the upper windows, although as St. Gregory, afterwards pope, also wrote, the water did not at all enter into that church. Likewise the walls of the city of Verona itself were partly demolished by the same inundation. And this inundation occurred on the 16th of the calends of November (Oct. 17th), yet there were so many flashes of lightning and peals of thunder as are hardly wont to occur even in the summer time. Also after two months this city of Verona was in great part consumed by fire.

Chapter XXIV.

In this outpouring of the flood the river Tiber at the city of Rome rose so much that its waters flowed in over the walls of the city and filled great regions in it. Then through the bed of the same stream a great multitude of serpents, and a dragon also of astonishing size passed by the city and descended to the sea. Straightway a very grievous pestilence called inguinal[1] followed this inundation, and it wasted the people with such great destruction of life that out of a countless multitude barely a few remained. First it struck Pope Pelagius, a venerable man, and quickly killed him. Then when their pastor was taken away it spread among the people. In this great tribulation the most blessed Gregory, who was then a deacon,[2] was elected Pope by

[1] Of the groin.

[2] *Levita.* See DuCange.

the common consent of all. He ordained that a seven-fold litany should be offered, but while they were imploring God, eighty of them within the space of one hour fell suddenly to the earth and gave up the ghost. The seven-fold litany was thus called because all the people of the city were divided by the blessed Gregory into seven parts to intercede with the Lord. In the first troop indeed was all the clergy; in the second, all the abbots with their monks; in the third, all the abbesses with their companies; in the fourth, all the children; in the fifth, all the laymen; in the sixth, all the widows; in the seventh, all the married women. And we omit to say anything more concerning the blessed Gregory because some years ago with the help of God we composed his life in which, according to our slender ability, we sketched in writing what was to be told.[1]

[1] Gregory the Great, the descendant of a noble Roman family, was born about the year 540. In 573 he became prefect of the city, but two years afterwards he laid down this office, founded six Benedictine convents in Sicily and converted his ancestral palace on the Coelian hill at Rome into a monastery dedicated to St. Andrew, in which he himself became a monk. It was at this time that walking through the Forum he saw exposed for sale the fair-haired boys from Britain of whom he said that they were not Angles but angels, and he obtained from Pope Benedict I, leave to undertake a mission to that island for the conversion of its people. He was recalled, however, while upon the way and was appointed deacon to the Pope. When Benedict died, his successor, Pelagius II, sent Gregory as his nuncio or *apocrisarius* to the Imperial Court at Constantinople, where, as Paul states (III, 13), he composed his book of Morals. With the emperor Maurice his relations were not always cordial, although the emperor asked him to stand sponsor for his son, the infant Theodosius. After remain-

Chapter XXV.

At this time the same blessed Gregory sent Augustine

ing some six years in Constantinople he returned (A. D. 585 or 586) to Rome and became the head of the monastery of St. Andrew which he had established (Hodgkin, V, 287 to 296). He now placed his pen at the service of the Pope in the controversy between that pontiff and the bishops of Istria concerning the condemnation of the Three Chapters (See III, 20, *supra*, and note). In 589 the inundation mentioned at the beginning of this chapter occurred, and in 590 the plague ravaged Italy. On the 8th of February of the latter year Pope Pelagius II died and Gregory was chosen to succeed him. The seven-fold litany described by Paul occurred after Gregory was elected, but before he was confirmed in the papal dignity. A fuller account of this litany is given in Hodgkin (V, 298–302).

Gregory's Epistles, composed during his pontificate, form a rich mine for the investigator of the history of that period. They treat of the care of the vast patrimony of St. Peter which included the largest and richest domains in Sicily as well as considerable estates in Rome, in the Sabine country, in the neighborhood of Ravenna, in Campania, Apulia, Bruttium, Gaul, Illyricum, Sardinia and Corsica, embracing property some 1800 square miles in extent. Gregory's letters show a conscientious regard for the just and careful management of these estates, as well as for the useful expenditure of the papal revenues and the efficient administration of the church, not only in these regions, but in Africa, Spain and elsewhere. It was in 596 that he sent St. Augustine, abbot of his own monastery of St. Andrew, to Britain on the mission mentioned in the following chapter, which resulted in the conversion of Ethelbert and a great part of his nobles and people to Christianity, and in 601 the second mission under Mellitus was dispatched to reenforce Augustine and his co-laborers. Gregory reformed the music of the church and remodeled the Roman liturgy, giving the service of the mass nearly the form which it bears at the present day (Hodgkin, 307–329). He also took an important part in the

and Mellitus and John with many other monks who

political affairs of Italy and in the defense of Naples, Rome and other cities of the empire against "the unspeakable Langobards." He made a separate treaty with duke Ariulf of Spoleto (id., p. 363), and was, as we shall see hereafter, the efficient agent in procuring the peace between Agilulf and the empire which relieved Italy from the devastations of a protracted war.

He made an earnest and even daring remonstrance to the emperor Maurice against the decree forbidding the servants of the state to enter monasteries (pp. 374–376); he reproached the emperor for preventing the peace for which he had long been striving (pp. 382–387), and he bitterly resented the claim of the patriarch John of Constantinople to be called the Ecumenical or Universal Bishop (pp. 390–400). While the contest over the title was at its height, John died. He was succeeded by Cyriacus, a man of gentler nature, who, while he did not renounce, would not obtrude a title which Gregory had declared to be "the precursor of Antichrist," but which the patriarchs of Constantinople continued to use until the Roman pontiffs nearly a century afterwards began to adopt it for themselves (pp. 401–403). In 602 Maurice was overthrown by Phocas, and with his four youngest children was put to death; later the same fate befell his eldest son Theodosius, and three years afterwards it overtook his widowed empress Constantina and her daughters. Phocas proved to be a tyrant, imbecile and brutal, a monster of lust and cruelty. In April 603 he was formally proclaimed emperor in Rome, and Gregory, unmindful of the horrors incident to his accession to the throne, addressed to the usurper a pæan of praise and thanksgiving that has cast a stain upon the memory of this great pope (pp. 434–447). But the judgment of his critics is perhaps too severe. He was slowly dying of the gout, from which he had suffered many years. Maurice had appeared to him as the oppressor of the church and the enemy of the true religion. The detestable character of Phocas was probably not yet manifest to Gregory, his responsibility for the assassination of the children of Maurice may well have been unknown or disbelieved. Within a year Gregory died,

feared God into Britain and he converted the Angles to Christ by their preaching.

Chapter XXVI.

In these days when Helias (Elias), patriarch of Aquileia, had died after holding his holy office fifteen years, Severus succeeded him and undertook the management of the church. Smaragdus the patrician, coming from Ravenna to Gradus (Grado), personally dragged him out of the church, and brought him with insults to Ravenna together with three other bishops from Istria, that is, John of Parentium (Parenzo), Severus[1] and Vendemius[2] and also Antony,[3] now an old

and although Hodgkin considers (V, 452) that it is safer to judge him as a great Roman than as a great saint, it seems just to his memory that the splendid qualities he exhibited throughout a life of intense activity should not be too greatly dimmed by a single mistake at its close. As Hodgkin rightly says, his generosity, his justice, his courage, entitle him to a high place among the noblest names of his imperial race. The secular power he wielded over the vast property owned by the church, as well as his political influence in Italy, his negotiations and treaties with the Langobards, his administration of the affairs of Rome and the surrounding territories at a time when the empire, weakened and beset by numerous enemies, could give no protection to its subjects—all these things tended to change the character of the Holy See, to make Gregory the true founder of the mediæval papacy and to pave the way for the subsequent establishment under Charlemagne of the temporal power of the popes.

[1] Of Tergeste (Trieste) (Waitz).

[2] Of Cissa (Pago) (Waitz).

[3] Of Grado (Waitz).

man and trustee[1] of the church. Threatening them with exile and inflicting violence, he compelled them to hold communion with John, the bishop of Ravenna, a condemner of the Three Chapters, who had separated from the communion of the Roman church at the time of Pope Vigilius or Pelagius.[2] After the expiration of a year[3] they returned from Ravenna to Grado. And the people were not willing to hold communion with them nor did the other bishops receive them. The patrician Smaragdus became not unjustly possessed of a devil, and being succeeded by the patrician Romanus, returned to Constantinople.[4] After these things a synod of ten

[1] *Defensor ecclesiae*, a functionary often mentioned in the church annals, nominated by the emperor on presentation of the bishop to protect the temporal interests of a particular church.

[2] Vigilius, A. D. 538–555; Pelagius, 555–559 or 560 (Muratori Ann. III, 455). It was at the time of Vigilius, in 553, that the second Council of Constantinople was held. The words of Paul appear to be written from the standpoint of the schismatics. In point of fact the Roman church was now supporting the condemnation of the Three Chapters. Paul seems to have believed that orthodoxy lay upon the other side (see Cipolla, Atti del Congresso in Cividale, 1899, p. 144).

Cipolla believes (p. 145) that the reference to Vigilius was taken by Paul from a petition of the schismatic bishops of the synod of Marano to the emperor Maurice in which they declared that their predecessors held firmly to the instruction they had received from Pope Vigilius and the Council of Chalcedon, and kept themselves faithful to the Three Chapters. This would explain his distorted view of the controversy. If Paul took this statement from Secundus, the latter may well have derived it from the petition of the schismatic bishops.

[3] A. D. 588 or 589 (Waitz).

[4] A. D. 590 (Waitz).

bishops was held in Marianum (Marano)[1] where they took back Severus, the patriarch of Aquileia, upon his giving a written confession of his error in taking communion at Ravenna with those who had condemned the Three Chapters.[2] The names of the bishops who had withheld themselves from this schism are these: Peter of Altinum (Altino); Clarissimus;[3] Ingenuinus of Sabione (Seben);[4] Agnellus of Tridentum (Trent); Junior of Verona; Horontius of Vicentia (Vicenza); Rusticus of Tarvisium (Treviso); Fonteius of Feltria (Feltre); Agnellus of Acilum (Asolo); Laurentius of Bellunum (Belluno); Maxentius of Julium (Zuglio);[5] and Adrian of Pola.[6] But the following bishops held communion with the patriarch; Severus, John of Parentium (Parenzo), Patricius, Vendemius and John.[7]

[1] About twelve miles west of Aquileia. The council was held about 589 (Hodgkin, V, 468, 470).

[2] This part of Paul's narrative is taken in all probability from the lost work of Secundus, bishop of Trent, who was himself a schismatic and defender of the Three Chapters, and it may be due to this that Paul's narrative is colored in their favor (Hodgkin, V, 468, note).

[3] Of Concordia (Waitz).

[4] Near Brixen (Waitz).

[5] On the Tagliamento above Tolmezzo (Abel).

[6] These bishops came largely from places under Langobard protection and could well afford to defy the pope and the exarch (Hodgkin, V, 469).

[7] This Severus was bishop of Tergeste (Trieste); Patricius, of Æmona (Laybach); Vendemius, of Cissa (Pago), and John, of Celeia (Cilli) (Waitz). It is not clear whether they held com-

Chapter XXVII.

At this time king Authari sent an army to Istria,

munion with the patriarch before or after his recantation (Hodgkin, V, 469, 470, note 2), probably before.

Paul does not tell the rest of the story. In the following year Gregory the Great became pope and wrote a letter summoning the patriarch and his followers to Rome to be judged by a synod as to the matters in controversy (Hodgkin, V, 470). Upon receipt of this letter two councils were assembled, one composed of the bishops of the territory occupied by the Langobards, and the other of the bishops in the coast cities subject to the empire. Each of these councils sent a letter to the emperor, and Severus the patriarch sent a third. One of these letters, that of the Langobard bishops, has been preserved. They congratulated Maurice upon his victories in Italy, and predicted that the day would soon come when the "Gentiles" would be overthrown and they would again become subjects of the empire. Then they would gladly present themselves before a synod in Constantinople, but they asked that they should not be compelled to appear before Gregory, who was a party to the cause, and whose communion they had renounced. If their enemies were allowed to persecute them the result would be that their churches would be alienated from the imperial authority (p. 471). This was an unpleasant prospect for the emperor, so Maurice ordered the Pope not to molest them (p. 472). Gregory, thus restrained, had now to confine himself to argument.

When Callinicus became exarch, about 579, the schismatic bishops found it harder to preserve their independence, and we hear of certain secessions from their ranks (pp. 474, 477).

The schism had extended beyond the confines of Venetia and Istria. Constantius, bishop of Milan and a friend of Gregory, was urged to declare that he had never condemned the Three Chapters and when he refused, three of his suffragans renounced his communion and induced Theudelinda, the Langobard queen, a Catholic and the friend of Pope Gregory to do the same.

which army Euin, duke of Tridentum (Trent), commanded.[1] And they, after plunderings and burnings, when peace had been made for one year, brought back a great sum of money to the king. Other Langobards too, besieged in the island of Comacina,[2] Francio,

"Here, indeed, was a blow for the Catholic cause, if the royal influence which had been won with difficulty after the contest with Arianism was to be lost again over the souls of the three Syrians" (Hodgkin, V, 479). Upon the entreaties of the Pope, the breach seems to have been healed and the queen's relations with Gregory remained friendly, although she probably sympathized with the schismatics. In December, 603, shortly before his death, he wrote congratulating her upon the birth and Catholic baptism of her son Adaloald, and said that sickness prevented him from answering "his dearest son, the abbot Secundus," who appears to have also been on the side of heresy (p. 480).

At the time of Gregory's death the schism had assumed a geographical character. In Istria, at Grado, and among the lagoons of Venice, "in fact, wherever the galleys of Constantinople could penetrate, churchmen were desirous to return into unity with the Emperor and the Pope, and were willing to admit that Theodoret, Theodore and Ibas were suffering the vengeance of eternal fire. On the mainland . . . wherever the swords of the Lombards flashed, men took a more hopeful view of the spiritual prospects of the three Syrians" (p. 481). On the death of Severus two sets of patriarchs were appointed, one for each section (IV, 33. *infra*). The schism continued until the end of the 7th century, when king Cuninepert summoned a council at Pavia in which the schismatics "with shouts of triumph" renounced their heresy and asked to be restored to the church (Hodgkin, V, 483; VI, 14, *infra*, see note).

[1] Probably 587 (Hodgkin, V, 244).

[2] Read *Comacina* instead of *Amacina* (Waitz). Comacina was a small island in lake Como, a little Roman stronghold amid Langobard surroundings.

master of soldiers, who had been hitherto of the party of Narses and had already maintained himself for twenty years. This Francio, after he had been besieged six months, surrendered that island to the Langobards but he himself was released by the king, as he had desired, and hastened with his wife and his household goods to Ravenna. In this island many riches were found which had been deposited there by particular cities.

Chapter XXVIII.

The king Flavius Authari sent an embassy to Childepert asking that the sister of the latter should be united to him in marriage. But while Childepert accepted gifts from the ambassadors of the Langobards, and promised to give his sister to their king, yet when ambassadors of the Goths came from Spain he promised this same sister over again, because he had learned that that nation had been converted to the Catholic faith.[1]

Chapter XXIX.

In the meantime he dispatched an embassy to the emperor Maurice sending him word that he would now undertake the war against the nation of the Langobards, which he had not done before, and in concert with the emperor, he would drive them out of Italy. And without delay he dispatched his army into Italy for the sub-

[1] This was probably due to the intrigues of the queen mother Brunihilde, who, after suppressing an insurrection of the nobles of Austrasia, pursued a policy of alliance with the empire and the church rather than with the Langobards (Hartmann, II, 1, 67, 68).

jugation of the Langobards.[1] King Authari and the troops of the Langobards quickly went forth to meet him and fought bravely for their freedom. In that fight the Langobards won the victory; the Franks were vanquished by main force, many were captured, very many also escaped by flight and returned with difficulty to their own country. So great a slaughter was there made of the army of the Franks as is not related anywhere else. And it is truly astonishing why Secundus, who wrote a number of things concerning the doings of the Langobards, should pass over so great a victory of theirs as this, since these things of which we have spoken concerning the destruction of the Franks may be read in their own history, described in almost these very words.[2]

Chapter XXX.

But after these events king Flavius Authari sent ambassadors to Bavaria to ask for him in marriage the daughter of Garibald[3] their king.[4] The latter received them kindly and promised that he would give his

[1] Probably in 588 (Hodgkin, V, 260, 261).

[2] Hartmann (II, I, 83) suggests that the silence of Secundus is due to the fact that the latter narrates principally the events that occurred in his own immediate neighborhood (in the valley of the Adige) and that the Franks probably crossed the Alps by some other route.

[3] From this name comes Garibaldi.

[4] That is, king of the Bavarians. He was more probably duke as he owed some sort of allegiance to Childepert, the Frankish king of Austrasia (Hodgkin, V, 236, note 3).

daughter Theudelinda[1] to Authari. And when the ambassadors on their return announced these things to Authari, he desired to see his betrothed for himself and bringing with him a few but active men out of the Langobards, and also taking along with him, as their chief,[2] one who was most faithful to him, he set forth without delay for Bavaria. And when they had been introduced into the presence of king Garibald according to the custom of ambassadors, and he who had come with Authari as their chief had made the usual speech after salutation, Authari, since he was known to none of that nation, came nearer to king Garibald and said: "My master, king Authari has sent me especially on this account, that I should look upon your daughter, his betrothed, who is to be our mistress, so that I may be able to tell my lord more surely what is her appearance." And when the king, hearing these things, had commanded his daughter to come, and Authari had gazed upon her with silent approval, since she was of a very beautiful figure and pleased him much in every way, he said to the king: "Since we see that the person of your daughter is such that we may properly wish her to become our queen, we would like if it please your mightiness, to take a cup of wine from her hand, as she will offer it to us hereafter." And when the king had assented to this that it should be done, she took the cup

[1] Theudelinda had been betrothed to Childepert (id.), and her sister was the wife of the Langobard duke Euin of Trent (III, 10, *supra*).

[2] *Senior*, see DuCange.

of wine and gave it first to him who appeared to be the chief. Then when she offered it to Authari, whom she did not know was her affianced bridegroom, he, after drinking and returning the cup, touched her hand with his finger when no one noticed, and drew his right hand from his forehead along his nose and face.[1] Covered with blushes, she told this to her nurse, and her nurse said to her: "Unless this man were the king himself and thy promised bridegroom, he would not dare by any means to touch thee. But meanwhile, lest this become known to thy father, let us be silent, for in truth the man is a worthy person who deserves to have a kingdom and be united with thee in wedlock." For Authari indeed was then in the bloom of his youth, of becoming stature, covered with yellow hair and very comely in appearance. Having received an escort from the king, they presently took their way to return to their own country, and they speedily departed from the territories of the Noricans. The province of the Noricans indeed, which the Bavarian people inhabits, has on the east Pannonia, on the west Suavia (Swabia), on the south Italy and on the northern side the stream of the Danube. Then Authari, when he had now come near the boundaries of Italy and had with him the Bavarians who up to this time were conducting him, raised himself as much as he could upon the horse he was managing, and with all his strength he drove into a tree that

[1] Hodgkin translates more freely (V, 238): "Secretly intertwined her fingers with his, and bending low, guided them over the profile of his face from the forehead to the chin." According to Abel's version he stroked *her* face.

stood near by, a hatchet which he carried in his hand and left it fixed there, adding moreover these words: "Authari is wont to strike such a blow." And when he had said these things, then the Bavarians who accompanied him understood that he was himself king Authari.[1] Then after some time, when trouble had come to king Garibald on account of an invasion by the Franks, Theudelinda his daughter with her brother, Gundoald by name, fled to Italy and announced to Authari, her promised bridegroom, that she was coming. And he straightway went forth to meet her with a great train to celebrate the nuptials in the field of Sardis[2] which is above Verona, and received her in marriage amid the rejoicing of all on the ides (15th) of May.

[1] In spite of this romantic legend it is probable that political considerations played no small part in the wooing of Authari. Theudelinda was, on her mother's side, the granddaughter of the former Langobard king Waccho, of the race of the Lethingi, with which Authari, who sprang from the later stock of Beleos, desired an alliance to give an additional sanction of legitimacy to his royal title. The relations of the Langobards to their northern neighbors the Bavarians had long been friendly, and after Authari had been compelled to renounce his intended alliance with the Franks by a marriage with Chlotsuinda, the sister of Childepert, he may well have desired to retain the friendship of the Bavarians, who although nominally subject to Childepert, had control of the passes over the eastern Alps, and could offer no slight obstacle to an invasion of Italy by the Franks. The powerful Duke of Trent had married a sister of Theudelinda, and his hearty support in resisting the Franks was also necessary to the king (Hartmann, II, 1, 68).

[2] This name cannot be identified. The place must have been near Lago di Garda (Hodgkin, V, 239, note 2).

Among other dukes of the Langobards, Agilulf, Duke of the city of Taurini (Turin) was then present. A certain tree in this place which was situated in the royal inclosures was hit during a violent gale by a stroke of lightning with great crash of thunder, and Agilulf had then as a soothsayer a certain servant of his who by diabolical art understood what future happenings strokes of lightning portended. When Agilulf was sitting down to the requirements of nature the man secretly said to him: "This woman who has just been wedded to our king is to be your wife before very long." When he heard this he threatened to cut off the man's head if he said anything further about the matter, but the man answered him: "I may be killed, indeed, but assuredly that woman has come into the country to this destiny, that she should be joined with you in marriage." And it afterwards so happened. At this time, from what cause is doubtful, Ansul, a blood kinsman of king Authari was killed at Verona.

Chapter XXXI.

At this time also when Grippo, the ambassador of Childepert king of the Franks, returned from Constantinople and announced to his king how he had been honorably received by the emperor Maurice and that the emperor at the desire of king Childepert promised that the insults he had endured at Carthage would be atoned for,[1] Childepert without delay sent again into

[1] This occurred in 590. Grippo had been sent some time before on an embassy to Constantinople with two noblemen, Bodigisil and

Italy an army of Franks with twenty dukes to subjugate the nation of the Langobards. Of these dukes Auduald, Olo and Cedinus were quite distinguished. But when Olo had imprudently attacked the fortress of Bilitio (Bellinzona), he fell wounded under his nipple by a dart and died. When the rest of the Franks had gone out to take booty they were destroyed by the Langobards who fell upon them while they were scattered in various places. But Auduald indeed and six dukes of the Franks came to the city of Mediolanum (Milan) and set

Evantius. On their way they stopped at Carthage, where a servant of Evantius seized in the market place some object which struck his fancy, whereupon the owner clamorously demanded its return, and one day, meeting the servant in the street, laid hold of him and said: "I will not let you go until you have returned what you stole from me," whereat the servant drew his sword and slew the man and returned to the inn where the ambassadors were staying but said nothing of the matter. The chief magistrate of the city collected an armed troop, went to the inn, and summoned the ambassadors to come out and assist in investigating the murder. Meanwhile a mob began to rush into the house. Bodigisil and Evantius were slain at the inn door, whereupon Grippo at the head of his retainers went forth fully armed, denounced the murderers of his colleagues, and said there would now never be peace between the Franks and Romans. The prefect endeavored to placate him and when Grippo reached Constantinople he was promised satisfaction by the emperor and reported this promise to his king, as appears in the text. The satisfaction afterwards given was that twelve men were sent bound to Childepert who was told that he might put them to death, or redeem their lives at the rate of 300 *aurei* (180 pounds sterling) each. Childepert, greatly dissatisfied, said there was no proof that the men sent to him had anything to do with the murder and he let them go (Hodgkin, 264, 267).

MAP OF THE DUCHY OF TRIDENTUM

[f. p. 143]

up their camp there some distance away on the plains. In this place the messengers of the emperor came to them announcing that his army was at hand to aid them and saying: "After three days we will come with them, and this shall be the signal to you; when you shall see the houses of this country-seat which stands upon the mountain burning with fire, and the smoke of the conflagration rising to heaven, you will know we are approaching with the army we promise." But the dukes of the Franks watched for six days, according to the agreement, and saw that no one came of those whom the messengers of the emperor had promised. Cedinus indeed with thirteen dukes having invaded the left side[1] of Italy took five fortresses from which he exacted oaths (of fidelity). Also the army of the Franks advanced as far as Verona and after giving oaths (of protection), demolished without resistance many fortified places which had trusted them suspecting no treachery from them. And the names of the fortified places they destroyed in the territory of Tridentum (Trent) are these: Tesana (Tiseno), Maletum (Malè), Sermiana (Sirmian), Appianum (Hoch Eppan), Fagitana (Faedo), Cimbra (Cembra), Vitianum (Vezzano), Bremtonicum (Brentonico), Volaenes (Volano), Ennemase (Neumarkt)[2] and two in Alsuca (Val Sugana) and one in

[1] The eastern side.

[2] Hodgkin (VI, 30) identifies these places: Tesana and Sermiana on the Adige, ten or twelve miles south of Meran; Maletum, in the Val di Sole; Appianum, opposite Botzen; Fagitana, between the Adige and the Avisio, overlooking the Rotalian plain; Cimbra, in the Val di Cembra on the lower Avisio; Vitianum, west

Verona. When all these fortified places were destroyed by the Franks, all the citizens were led away from them as captives. But ransom was given for the fortified place of Ferrugis (Verruca),[1] upon the intercession of the bishops Ingenuinus of Savio (Seben)[2] and Agnellus of Tridentum (Trent), one solidus per head for each man up to six hundred solidi.[3] Meanwhile, since it was summer time, the disease of dysentery began seriously to harass the army of the Franks on account of their being unused to the climate and by this disease very many of them died. Why say more? While the army of the Franks was wandering through Italy for three months and gaining no advantage—it could neither avenge itself upon its enemies, for the reason that they betook them-

of Trent; Bremtonicum, between the Adige and the head of Lago di Garda; Volaenes, a little north of Roveredo; Ennemase, not far south of Botzen.

[1] Close to Trent (Hodgkin, VI, 32).

[2] Not far below Brixen on the Eisach (Hodgkin, VI, 32, note 2).

[3] This chapter is a specimen of Paul's way of dovetailing his authorities together. The campaign of the three dukes is given in the main in the words of Gregory of Tours. Then comes a passage from the history of Secundus not agreeing with what had gone before, as it enumerates thirteen fortified places instead of five, and then, after telling of the ransom, Paul here resumes his text from Gregory (Hodgkin, VI, 31, note 1).

Hodgkin gives the price of ransom at twelve shillings a head, or for all, three hundred and sixty pounds sterling. The language seems to indicate that the garrison were six hundred in number or it might mean that the ransom varied from one solidus for a common soldier to six hundred for a chieftain (Hodgkin, VI, 32, note 4).

selves to very strong places, nor could it reach the king from whom it might obtain retribution, since he had fortified himself within the city of Ticinum (Pavia)—the army, as we have said, having become ill from the unhealthiness of the climate and grievously oppressed with hunger, determined to go back home. And while they were returning to their own country they endured such stress of famine that they offered first their own clothes and afterwards also their arms to buy food before they reached their native soil.[1]

Chapter XXXII.

It is believed that what is related of king Authari occurred about this time. For the report is that that king then came through Spoletium (Spoleto) to Beneventum (Benevento) and took possession of that region and passed on as far even as Regium (Reggio), the last city of Italy next to Sicily, and since it is said that a certain column is placed there among the waves of the sea, that he went up to it sitting upon his horse and touched it with the point of his spear saying: "The territories of the Langobards will be up to this place." The column

[1] The Byzantine account of this campaign of the year 590 is given in two letters written by the exarch Romanus to Childepert, stating that before the arrival of the Franks, the Romans had taken Modena, Altino and Mantua, that when Cedinus was encamped near Verona they were upon the point of joining him and supporting him by their light vessels on the river, intending with him to besiege Pavia and capture king Authari, and that they were amazed to learn that Cedinus had made a ten months' truce with the Langobards and had marched out of the country (Hodgkin, V, 271–274).

is said to be there down to the present time and to be called the Column of Authari.[1]

Chapter XXXIII.

But the first duke of the Langobards in Beneventum[2] was named Zotto, and he ruled in it for the space of twenty years.[3]

[1] Chapter XXXII is not believed to be historical but to belong to the domain of saga and perhaps of epic song (Bruckner, p. 18, note 3; and Pabst, 453, note 1; see Hodgkin, V, 235 and 236, note 1). Beneventum was established before Authari's time (Pabst, 453 and note 1).

[2] Benevento stands in an amphitheater of hills overlooking the two rivers Calore and Sabato, which afterwards unite and form the Voltorno. It was a city of the Samnites, possibly once inhabited by Etruscans. At the time of the third Samnite war, B. C. 298 to 290, it passed under the dominion of Rome. It was situated on the great Appian Way from Rome to Brundisium and upon the great road afterwards built by Trajan, also on a branch of the Latin Way, a road connecting it with the north-east of Latium, and it was a place of the utmost importance as a military position, commanding the southern portion of Italy (Hodgkin, VI, 63–68).

[3] No passage in Paul has given a harder task to investigators than this chapter. Five different opinions (Waitz) have arisen from it as to the origin of the important duchy of Benevento. The twenty years attributed to Zotto's reign are reckoned, as Hartmann thinks (II, 1, 54), from the year 569, which was regarded as the commencement of Langobard domination in Italy, and was thus transferred to Benevento, and he does not believe that this duchy was established at so early a period. Hodgkin (VI, 71, note 1, and 73) argues that Zotto's reign began probably about 571, and ended about 591 (see Hirsch, History of the Duchy of Beneventum, Chap. I).

The duchy of Benevento is often spoken of as the duchy of the

Chapter XXXIV.

Meanwhile king Authari dispatched an embassy with words of peace to Gunthram, king of the Franks,[1] the uncle of king Childepert. The ambassadors were received pleasantly by him but were directed to Childepert who was a nephew on his brother's side, so that by his assent[2] peace should be confirmed with the nation of the Langobards. This Gunthram indeed of whom we have spoken was a peaceful king and eminent in every good quality. Of him we may briefly insert in this history of ours one very remarkable occurrence, especially since we know that it is not at all contained in the history of the Franks. When he went once upon a time into the woods to hunt, and, as often happens, his companions scattered hither and thither, and he remained with only one, a very faithful friend of his, he was oppressed with heavy slumber and laying his head upon the knees of this same faithful companion, he fell asleep. From his mouth a little animal in the shape of a reptile came forth and began to bustle about seeking to cross a slender brook which flowed near by. Then he in whose lap (the king) was resting laid his sword, which he had drawn from its scabbard, over this brook and upon it that reptile of which we have spoken passed over to the other side. And when it had entered into a certain hole in the mountain not far off, and having re-

Samnites (IV, 44, 46; VI, 2, 29, *infra*). It lasted until the latter part of the eleventh century (Hodgkin, VI, 69).

[1] More properly, king of Burgundy (Hodgkin, V, 275).

[2] Read *nutum* instead of *notum*.

turned after a little time, had crossed the aforesaid brook upon the same sword, it again went into the mouth of Gunthram from which it had come forth. When Gunthram was afterwards awakened from sleep he said he had seen a wonderful vision. For he related that it had seemed to him in his slumbers that he had passed over a certain river by an iron bridge and had gone in under a certain mountain where he had gazed upon a great mass of gold. The man however, on whose lap he had held his head while he was sleeping, related to him in order what he had seen of it. Why say more? That place was dug up and countless treasures were discovered which had been put there of old.[1] Of this gold the king himself afterwards made a solid canopy[2] of wonderful size and great weight and wished to send it, adorned with many precious gems, to Jerusalem to the sepulcher of our Lord. But when he could not at all do this he caused it to be placed over the body of St. Marcellus the martyr who was buried in the city of Cabillonum[3] (Châlon-Sur-Saone) where the capital of his kingdom was, and it is there down to the present day. Nor is there anywhere any work made of gold which may be compared to it. But having touched briefly upon these things, which were worthy of the telling, let us come back to our history.

Chapter XXXV.

In the meantime, while king Authari's messengers

[1] See Chap. X, *supra*, note at the end.

[2] *Ciborium*. Italian, *baldacchino* (Hodgkin, V, 202).

[3] Founded by Gunthram (Giansevero).

were stopping in France, king Authari, after he had reigned six years,[1] died at Ticinum (Pavia) on the Nones (5th) of September[2] from poison he had taken, as they relate. And straightway an embassy was sent by the Langobards to Childepert, king of the Franks to announce to him the death of king Authari and to ask for peace from him. And when he heard this, he received the messengers indeed but promised that he would give peace at a future time. After some days, however, he dismissed the aforesaid messengers with the promise of peace. But because queen Theudelinda pleased the Langobards greatly, they allowed her to remain in her royal dignity, advising her to choose for herself whomsoever she might wish from all the Langobards; such a one, namely, as could profitably manage the kingdom. And she, taking counsel with the prudent, chose Agilulf, duke of the people of Turin as her husband and king of the nation of the Langobards, for he was a man energetic and warlike and fitted as well in body as in mind for the government of the kingdom. The queen straightway sent word to him to come to her and she hastened to meet him at the town of Laumellum (Lumello).[3] And when he had come to her, she, after some speech with him, caused wine to be brought, and when she had first quaffed it, she handed the rest

[1] Seven years, says the Origo—six years and six months, says the Continuer of Prosper (Waitz).

[2] A. D. 590, a date which is well established (Hodgkin, V, 275, note 3).

[3] A little north of the Po, about twenty miles west of Pavia (Hodgkin, V, 283, note 2).

to Agilulf to drink. And when he had taken the cup and had reverently kissed her hand, the queen said smiling with a blush, that he should not kiss her hand who ought to imprint a kiss upon her lips. And straightway raising him up to kiss her, she unfolded to him the subject of their marriage and of the sovereign dignity. Why say more? The nuptials were celebrated with great rejoicing and Agilulf, who was a kinsman of king Authari on the mother's side,[1] assumed the royal dignity at the beginning of the month of November.[2] Later however, in the month of May when the Langobards had met together in one place, he was raised to the sovereignty by all at Mediolanum.

[1] Hartmann (II, 1, 121) doubts this relationship.

[2] Waitz doubts this legend and believes that Agilulf obtained the crown by violence, citing the Origo and the Continuer of Prosper, but in these there is no actual contradiction of the text, as they simply say that Agilulf married Theudelinda and became king (Hodgkin, V, 283, note 4, 284). The fact, however, that the occurrences related must have taken place, if at all, within two months of the death of her first husband, detracts much from the charm of this otherwise delightful saga and adds something to its improbability (Hartmann, II, 1, 98, 99). Most likely Agilulf seized the crown and married Theudelinda, the granddaughter of king Waccho, to acquire for his royal title some claim to legitimacy.

Agilulf, one of the great kings of the Langobards, was said to be of Thuringian extraction, though it is possible this statement is due to a misunderstanding of his title as duke of Turin (Hartmann, II, 1, 121). Theudelinda was descended on her father's side from the Bavarians, the former Marcomanni, who after a long sojourn to Bohemia, were settled in the region now known as Bavaria. Theudelinda virtually established a new dynasty in Italy and her descendants reigned down to the fifth generation (Hodgkin, V, 285, 286).

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

When therefore Agilulf, who was also called Ago, had been confirmed in the royal dignity[1] he sent Agnellus,[2] Bishop of Tridentum (Trent) to France for the sake of those who had been led captive by the Franks from the fortified places of Tridentum. And Agnellus, on his return thence, brought back with him a number of captives whom Brunihilde,[3] the queen of the Franks had ransomed with her own money. Also Euin, duke of the people of Trent, proceeded to Gaul to obtain peace and when he had procured it he returned.

CHAPTER II.

In this year there was a very severe drought from the month of January to the month of September and there occurred a dreadful famine. There came also into the territory of Tridentum a great quantity of locusts which were larger than other locusts, and, wonderful to relate, fed upon grasses and marsh seeds, but hardly touched

[1] May, 591 (Waitz).

[2] Hartmann (II, 1, 84) believes that the statement that Agnellus was acting on behalf of the Langobards in this matter was a mistake due to the fact that Paul considered that the Catholic bishop of Trent was in Langobard territory.

[3] Cf. III, 10 *supra*.

the crops of the fields. And they appeared also in like manner the following year.

Chapter III.

In these days king Agilulf put to death Mimulf, duke of the island of St. Julian,[1] because he had on a previous occasion treasonably surrendered to the dukes of the Franks. Gaidulf indeed, the Bergamascan duke, rebelled in his city of Pergamus (Bergamo) and fortified himself against the king, but afterwards gave hostages and made peace with his sovereign. Again Gaidulf shut himself up in the island of Comacina.[2] But king Agilulf invaded this island and drove Gaidulf's men out of it and carried away to Ticinum (Pavia) the treasure he had found placed there by the Romans.[3] But Gaidulf again fled to Pergamus (Bergamo) and was there taken by king Agilulf and again received into favor. Also duke Ulfari rebelled against king Ago at Tarvisium (Treviso), and was beseiged and captured by him.

Chapter IV.

In this year the inguinal plague was again at Ravenna, Gradus (Grado) and Istria, and was very grievous as it had also been thirty years before. At this time too king Agilulf made peace with the Avars. Childepert

[1] A small island in the Lago d' Orta (Giansevero), west of lake Maggiore.

[2] In lake Como.

[3] Cf. III, 27 *supra.*

also waged with his cousin[1] the son of Hilperic,[2] a war in which as many as thirty thousand men fell in battle. The winter was then very cold, so that hardly anyone recalled its like before. Also in the region of the Briones (Brenner) blood flowed from the clouds, and among the waters of the river Renus[3] (Reno) a rivulet of blood arose.

Chapter V.

In these days[4] the most wise and holy Pope Gregory, of the city of Rome, after he had written many other things for the service of the holy church, also composed four books of the Life of the Saints. This writing he called a dialogue, that is, the conversation of two persons, because he had produced it talking with his deacon Peter. The aforesaid pope then sent these books to queen Theudelinda, whom he knew to be undoubtedly devoted to the faith of Christ and conspicuous in good works.

Chapter VI.

By means of this queen too, the church of God obtained much that was serviceable. For the Langobards, when they were still held in the error of heathenism, seized nearly all the property of the churches, but the king, moved by her wholesome supplication, not only

[1] On the mother's side.

[2] Chlotar II.

[3] Between Ferrara and Bologna. Or was this Rhenus the Rhine?

[4] A. D. 593 (Waitz).

held the Catholic faith,[1] but also bestowed many possessions upon the church of Christ and restored to the honor of their wonted dignity bishops who were in a reduced and abject condition.

Chapter VII.

In these days Tassilo was ordained king[2] among the Bavarians by Childepert, king of the Franks. And he presently entered with his army into the province of the Sclabi (Slavs), and when he had obtained the victory, he returned to his own land with very great booty.

Chapter VIII.

Also at this time, Romanus, the patrician and exarch of Ravenna, proceeded to Rome. On his return to Ravenna he re-occupied the cities that were held by the Langobards, of which the names are as follows: Sutrium (Sutri), Polimartium (Bomarzo), Hortas (Orte), Tuder (Todi), Ameria (Amelia), Perusia (Perugia), Luceolis[3] (Cantiano), and some other cities. When this fact was announced to king Agilulf, he straightway marched out of Ticinum with a strong army and attacked the

[1] Paul is probably mistaken in this. Theudelinda the queen was a Catholic, but Agilulf, although tolerant, and allowing his son to be baptized as a Catholic, appears from the letters of St. Gregory and St. Columban not to have become one himself (Hodgkin, VI, 140 to 144).

[2] A. D. 595 (Giansevero).

[3] All these were later in the States of the Church. Three of them were important stages on the Via Flamminia connecting Rome with Ravenna (Hodgkin, V, 367).

city of Perusia, and there for some days he besieged Maurisio, the duke of the Langobards, who had gone over to the side of the Romans, and without delay took him and deprived him of life. The blessed Pope Gregory was so much alarmed at the approach of this king that he desisted from his commentary upon the temple mentioned in Ezekiel, as he himself also relates in his homilies.[1] King Agilulf then, when matters were arranged, returned to Ticinum (Pavia), and not long afterwards, upon the special suggestion of his wife, Queen Theudelinda—since the blessed Pope Gregory had often thus admonished her in his letters—he concluded a firm peace[2] with the same most holy man Pope Gregory and with the Romans,[3] and that venerable

[1] See Book II on Ezekiel. The passage is given in full in Waitz's note. See Homily XXII.

[2] Paul is in error here in his chronology, Agilulf's expedition against Perugia and Rome was in 594, or according to Hodgkin (V. 369) in 593. The peace was concluded in the latter part of 598 (Jacobi, 27) or more probably in 599 (Hodgkin, V, 415).

[3] In this chapter Paul gives a very short and insufficient account of a period filled with important events. In the year 592, duke Ariulf of Spoleto, a town on the way from Ravenna to Rome, continually threatened the communication between these two cities and captured a number of other places belonging to the empire, and Arichis duke of Benevento, co-operating with Ariulf, pressed hard upon Naples. About the end of July (Hodgkin, V, p. 363) Pope Gregory concluded a separate peace with Ariulf which aroused great indignation at Ravenna and Constantinople because it was beyond the authority of the Pope to make such peace with an independent power. It would seem that it was this action which stirred the exarch Romanus to his campaign in which he recovered the cities mentioned by Paul, that had probably

prelate sent to this queen the following letter in expression of his thanks:

Chapter IX.

"Gregory to Theudelinda, queen of the Langobards. We have learned from the report of our son, the abbot Probus, that your Excellency has devoted yourself, as you are wont, zealously and benevolently, to making peace. Nor was it to be expected otherwise from your Christianity but that you would show to all your labor and your goodness in the cause of peace. Wherefore we render thanks to Almighty God, who so rules your heart by His affection, that He has not only given you the true faith, but He also grants that you devote yourself always to the things that are pleasing to Him. For think not, most excellent daughter, that you have obtained but little reward for staying the blood which

fallen into Ariulf's possession. Now Agilulf took the field and after capturing Perugia marched on Rome, and Pope Gregory, from the battlements of the city, saw the captive Romans driven from the Campagna, roped together with halters around their necks on their way to slavery. The Pope made vigorous preparations for the defense of the city but no assault was made. One of the early chroniclers known as the Copenhagen Continuer of Prosper, says Agilulf relinquished the siege because he was melted by the prayers of Gregory. This statement has been doubted (Hodgkin, V, 372) and perhaps other causes, fever, disaffection, the impregnability of the place or the rebellion of the Langobard dukes may have led to his return. But the Pope began at once to work for peace between Agilulf and the empire. The emperor Maurice and the exarch Romanus laid many obstacles in the way, and it was not until the death of Romanus and the succession of Callinicus that peace was concluded.

would otherwise have been poured out upon both sides. On account of this thing we return thanks for your good will and invoke the mercy of our God that He may weigh out to you a requital of good things in body and soul, here and hereafter. Saluting you, moreover, with fatherly love, we exhort you that you so proceed with your most excellent husband that he may not reject the alliance of our Christian Republic. For, as we think you also know, it is expedient in many ways that he should be willing to betake himself to its friendship. Do you, therefore, according to your custom, ever busy yourself with the things that relate to the welfare of the parties and take pains to commend your good deeds more fully in the eyes of Almighty God, where an opportunity may be given to win His reward."

Likewise his letter to king Agilulf: "Gregory to Agilulf, king of the Langobards. We render thanks to your Excellency that, hearing our petition, you have declared peace (as we had faith you would), which will be of advantage to both parties. Wherefore we strongly praise the prudence and goodness of your Excellency, because in loving peace you show that you love God who is its author. If it had not been made, which God forbid! what could have happened but that the blood of the wretched peasants, whose labor helps us both, would be shed to the sin and ruin of both parties? But that we may feel the advantage of this same peace as it has been made by you, we pray, saluting you with fatherly love, that as often as occasion shall be given, you may by your letters admonish your dukes in various places and especially those stationed in these parts,

that they keep this peace inviolably, as has been promised, and that they do not seek for themselves opportunities from which may spring any strife or dissatisfaction, so that we may be able to render thanks for your good will. We have received indeed the bearers of these present letters, as being in fact your servants, in the affection which was due, because it was just that we should receive and dismiss with Christian love wise men who announced a peace made with God's approval."[1]

Chapter X.

Meanwhile, in the following month of January, a comet appeared morning and evening through the whole month. And in this month also John, archbishop of Ravenna, died and Marianus, a Roman citizen, was substituted in his place. Also Euin, the duke of Trent, being dead, duke Gaidoald, a good man and a Catholic in religion, was assigned to that place. And in these same days, while the Bavarians, to the number of thirty thousand men, attacked the Slavs, the Cagan[2] fell upon them and all were killed. Then for the first time wild

[1] This letter is said to have been written Dec., 598 (Hodgkin, V, 419, note), though this was before the peace was finally concluded. Probably the preliminary negotiations had been then completed.

[2] Thus the king of the Avars or Huns was called (Giansevero), and this is the probable meaning of the title in this place, but the term is also applied to the chiefs of the Russians or Muscovites (see DuCange), hence perhaps here to the chief of the Slavs. It was a generic name like "Cæsar," "Augustus," "Flavius" among the Romans. The word "Khan" is evidently derived from it (Giansevero, p. 140).

horses and buffaloes[1] were brought into Italy, and were objects of wonder to the people of that country.

Chapter XI.

Also at this time Childepert, king of the Franks, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, was murdered, as is said, together with his wife, by poison.[2] The Huns, too, who are also called Avars, entered Thuringia from Pannonia and waged desperate wars with the Franks. Queen Brunihilde, with her grandsons Theudepert and Theuderic who were still little boys, was then reigning over Gaul and the Huns took money from them and returned home. Also Gunthram, king of the Franks, died, and queen Brunihilde, with her grandsons, the sons of Childepert, who were still little children, assumed his royal authority.

Chapter XII.

At the same time the Cagan, king of the Huns, sending messengers to Mediolanum (Milan) to Agilulf, made peace with him.[3] Also the patrician Romanus died[4] and Gallicinus[5] succeeded him and entered into a treaty of peace with king Agilulf.[6]

[1] *Bubalus* is probably *βούβαλος* "buffalo," or possibly *βουβαλίς*, an African deer or antelope.

[2] A. D. 593 (Hodgkin, V, 345).

[3] Some time between 593 and 600 (Hodgkin, V, 422, note 3).

[4] A. D. 596 or 597 (Hodgkin, V, 409).

[5] His proper name was Callinicus (Hodgkin, V, 410).

[6] This was the peace in regard to which Gregory wrote the preceding letters to Theudelinda and Agilulf. It was only a peace for two years (Hodgkin, V, 418, 420, 428).

Chapter XIII.

At this time also Agilulf made perpetual peace with Theuderic, king of the Franks. Afterwards king Ago put to death Zangrulf, duke of Verona, who rebelled against him. He also slew Gaidulf, duke of Pergamus (Bergamo), whom he had already spared twice. Also in like manner he put to death Warnecautius at Ticinum (Pavia).

Chapter XIV.

At a subsequent time a very severe plague again devastated Ravenna and those places which were around the shores of the sea. Also in the following year a great mortality wasted the people of Verona.

Chapter XV.

Then also a bloody sign was seen appearing in heaven, and as it were, bloody lances and a very brilliant light through the whole night. Theudepert king of the Franks at that time waged war with his cousin Clothar and violently overthrew his army.

Chapter XVI.

In the following year duke Ariulf who had succeeded Farauld[1] at Spoletium (Spoleto) died. This Ariulf, when he had waged war against the Romans at Camerinum (Camerino)[2] and had gotten the victory,[3] began

[1] Farauld died about 591 (Waitz). The name is also spelled Faroald, see *infra*.

[2] A city of Picenum on the east side of the Apennines near the boundaries of Umbria.

[3] The campaign of Ariulf, including probably a siege of Rome,

to inquire of his men who that man was whom he had seen fighting so vigorously in the war he had waged. And when his men answered that they had not seen anyone there acting more bravely than the duke himself, he said: "Surely I saw another man there much and in every way better than I, and as often as any one of the opposite side attempted to strike me, that active man always protected me with his shield." And when the duke himself had come near Spoletium (Spoleto) where stands the church of the blessed martyr, the bishop Savinus,[1] in which his venerable body reposes, Ariulf asked to whom belonged this spacious abode. It was answered him by devout men that the martyr Savinus reposed there whom Christians were wont to invoke in their aid as often as they went to war against their enemies. And Ariulf, since up to this time he was a heathen, thus answered: "And can it be that a dead man can give any aid to one living?" And when he had said this, he leaped down from his horse and went into the church to look at it. And then while the others were praying he began to admire the pictures of that

had taken place some time before this in 592, and had ended in a partial peace concluded by Pope Gregory with the Langobard duke, due to the veneration aroused in the heart of Ariulf by a personal interview with the pontiff. This was the peace that exposed the pope to bitter reproaches at Constantinople (Hodgkin, VI, 93) and was possibly the occasion of the campaign of Romanus against the cities that had been taken by the Langobards (IV, 8 *supra*).

[1] Hodgkin suggests (V, 365, note 3) that this may be a mistake as Savinus (or Sabinus) was patron saint, not of Spoleto but Camerino.

church. And when he had beheld the painted figure of the blessed martyr Savinus he straightway said and declared with an oath that that man who had protected him in battle had in every way such a form and bearing. Then it was understood that the blessed martyr Savinus had brought him help in battle. Upon the death of Ariulf, after two sons of Faroald the former duke had contended between themselves for the dukedom, one of them, Teudelapius by name, was crowned with victory and received the dukedom.[1]

Chapter XVII.

About this time the monastery of the blessed father Benedict which was situated in the stronghold of Casinum (Monte Cassino) was attacked at night by the Langobards,[2] and although they plundered everything, they could not get hold of one of the monks. This was in fulfilment of a prophecy of the venerable father Benedict, which he had made long before, in which he said: "I have been able with difficulty to obtain from God that the souls from this place should be yielded to me."[3]

[1] Ariulf died in 601, about ten years after his accession and king Agilulf appears to have had little hand in regulating the succession, since this was decided by battle between the two sons of Faruald. Teudelapius kept the dukedom of Spoleto for more than half a century (601 to 653), during which time there were four kings at Pavia (Hodgkin, VI, 95, 96).

[2] This attack actually occurred A. D. 589, not 601, the date of Ariulf's death (Jacobi, 25, 26). Some historians indeed place it as early as 582 (Giansevero).

[3] The whole prophecy was (see Dialogues Gregory the Great, II, chap. 17), "All this monastery that I built and all things that I

The monks fled from this place and made their way to Rome carrying with them the manuscript of the Holy Rule (of the order) which the aforesaid father had composed, and certain other writings and also a pound of bread and a measure of wine, and whatever of their household goods they had been able to snatch away. Subsequently to the blessed Benedict indeed, Constantine governed that fraternity; after him Simplicius; after him Vitalis; finally Bonitus under whom this destruction occurred.

Chapter XVIII.

On the death of Zotto, duke of Beneventum (Benevento),[1] Arigis (or Arichis), sent by king Agilulf, succeeded to his place. He had come originally from Forum Julii (Cividale) and had educated the sons of Gisulf,[2] duke of Forum Julii (Friuli), and was a blood

prepared for the brothers, have been delivered to the heathen by the judgment of God Almighty. I have been able with difficulty, etc."

[1] A. D. 591. He had pushed his ravages far into Apulia Lucania and Calabria, apparently acting independently of the Langobard kingdom in the north of Italy (Hodgkin, VI, 73).

[2] Arichis was duke in 591, as appears from a letter of Gregory the Great (Epist., II, 46). How then could Grimoald, the son of Gisulf, who was a little boy during the Avar invasion of 610 (IV, 37 *infra*), have been one of his pupils before 591? Even Grimoald's elder brothers Taso and Cacco were young enough for the eldest to be adopted by the exarch after his father's death about 612, and could hardly have been born before 585, six years before Arichis became duke of Beneventum. Hodgkin believes (VI, 74, note) that it was the children of an earlier generation whom

relation of that same Gisulf. There exists a letter of the blessed Pope Gregory to this Arigis drawn up in the following terms:

Chapter XIX.

"Gregory to Duke Arogis:

"Since we trust in your Highness as indeed in our own son, we are moved to make a request of you in a way confidentially, thinking that you will not at all suffer us to be disappointed, especially in a matter from which your soul may be greatly benefitted. We inform you then that a considerable number of wooden beams are needful to us for the churches of the blessed Peter and Paul, and therefore we have enjoined our sub-deacon Savinus to cut a number in the region of Brittii (Calabria) and to bring them to a suitable place by the sea. And because he needs assistance in this thing, we ask, saluting your Highness with paternal love, that you should charge your managers[2] who are in that place

Arichis instructed, perhaps the children of Grasulf I, and that afterwards, when Arichis received the two young princes Radoald and Grimoald at his court (IV, 39 *infra*), it was the sons of one of his old pupils that he welcomed to Beneventum. Other commentators believe that Paul was altogether wrong.

Arichis practically acted as an independent sovereign, making war with Naples and Rome, and king Agilulf could not conclude a peace with the empire till Arichis assented. When Arichis died the king of the Langobards does not seem to have been consulted in the appointment of his successor (Hodgkin, VI, 75).

[1] Spelled thus in the oldest manuscripts and also in the letters of Gregory.

[2] *Actionarii.* These were subordinate officials of the king

to send the men who are under them with their oxen to his assistance, so that with your aid he can the better perform what we have enjoined upon him. And we promise that when the thing is finished, we will send to you a worthy gift which will not be displeasing, for we know how to regard and to recompense our sons who show us good will. Whence we ask again, illustrious son, that you should so act that we can be debtors to you for the favor shown and that you may have a reward for (your services to) the churches of the saints."

Chapter XX.

In these days the daughter of king Agilulf was taken from the city of Parma, together with her husband named Gudescalc (Gottschalk), by the army of the patrician Gallicinus (Callinicus), and they were brought to the city of Ravenna. At this time also king Agilulf sent to the Cagan, the king of the Avars, workmen for the making of ships with which that Cagan afterwards conquered a certain island in Thrace.[1]

who stood in rank under the *gastaldi*, and appear to have had charge of particular domains of the king, or (in Benevento and Spoleto) of the duke (Pabst, 493).

[1] Although these shipwrights were probably Romans, the incident shows the general acceptance by the Langobards of the industrial arts of the people they had conquered. The history of these changes is given in Hartmann, II, 2, chap. I, in detail, see pp. 19–22. See also chap. 22, *infra*, where their change in dress is noted.

Chapter XXI.

At the same time queen Theudelinda dedicated the church of St. John the Baptist, which she had built in Modicia (Monza), a place which is twelve miles above Mediolanum (Milan). And she decorated it with many ornaments of gold and silver and endowed it amply with estates. In this place also Theuderic, the former king of the Goths, had constructed his palace, because the place, since it is near the Alps, is temperate and healthful in summer time.

Chapter XXII.

There also the aforesaid queen built herself a palace, in which she caused to be painted something of the achievements of the Langobards. In this painting it is clearly shown in what way the Langobards at that time cut their hair, and what was their dress and what their appearance. They shaved the neck, and left it bare up to the back of the head, having their hair hanging down on the face as far as the mouth and parting it on either side by a part in the forehead. Their garments were loose and mostly linen, such as the Anglo-Saxons are wont to wear,[1] ornamented with broad borders woven in various colors. Their shoes, indeed, were open almost up to the tip of the great toe, and were held on by shoe latchets interlacing alternately. But later they began to wear trousers,[2] over which they put leggins of shaggy

[1] This is said to be the first appearance in literature of the word "Anglo-Saxon" (Hodgkin, V, 154, note 4).

[2] The monk of Salerno says that king Adaloald (A. D. 616–626) was the first who wore trousers (Abel, note).

woolen cloth[1] when they rode. But they had taken that from a custom of the Romans.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Up to this time the city of Patavium (Padua) had rebelled against the Langobards, the soldiers resisting very bravely. But at last when fire was thrown into it, it was all consumed by the devouring flames and was razed to the ground by command of king Agilulf. The soldiers, however, who were in it were allowed to return to Ravenna.

CHAPTER XXIV.

At this time the ambassadors of Agilulf who returned from the Cagan announced a perpetual peace made with the Avars. Also an ambassador of the Cagan came with them and proceeded to Gaul, demanding of the kings of the Franks that they should keep peace with the Langobards the same as with the Avars. Meanwhile the Langobards invaded the territories of the Istrians[2] with the Avars and the Slavs, and laid waste everything with burnings and plunderings.

[1] *Tubrugos birreos.* Hodgkin considers (V, 154, 155) that the explanation quoted in Waitz's note "*Byrrus vestis est amphimallus villosus*" (having the nap on both sides), according to which the *birrus* was a sort of waterproof cape thrown over other garments when it rained, seems to throw most light on this passage. (See DuCange).

[2] Istria still remained under Byzantine dominion up to the year 751 (Abel). This raid was probably about 601 (Hodgkin, V, 430, note 1).

Chapter XXV.

There was then born to Agilulf the king, by his queen Theudelinda, in the palace of Modicia (Monza), a son who was called Adaloald. At a subsequent time the Langobards attacked the fortress of Mons Silicis (Monselice).[1] During the same period, at Ravenna, after Gallicinus (Callinicus) had been driven away, Smaragdus, who had before been patrician of Ravenna, returned.[2]

Chapter XXVI.

Then the emperor Maurice, after he had ruled the empire twenty-one years, was killed, together with his sons Theodosius and Tiberius and Constantine, by Focas (Phocas) who was the master of horse of Priscus the patrician. But he had been very useful to the state for he had often obtained victory when contending against the enemy. The Huns too, who are also called Avars, were subjugated by his prowess.[3]

[1] A little south of Padua (Abel).

[2] A. D. 602 (Hodgkin, V, 431).

[3] During the reign of Maurice a radical change began to take place in the permanent government of those parts of Italy which remained subject to Byzantium. The invasion of the Langobards, which was at first believed to be a mere temporary incursion, had been followed by their settlement in the country, and although Maurice would not abandon the hope of expelling them, it was found more and more necessary to accept their presence as a permanent condition. The continual wars had given rise to special military jurisdiction conferred upon the chief officers of the empire, which was temporary at first, then often renewed, and at last permanent. The exarch remained the personal representative of the

CHAPTER XXVII.

Gaidoald duke of Tridentum (Trent) and Gisulf of

emperor, with full powers, including the right to conclude a temporary truce with the Langobards, though not a lasting peace and alliance (Hartmann, II, 1, 125). The frontier towns were fortified and permanent garrisons were established in them which were recruited from the neighborhood; the civil municipalities became transformed into military governments; each of the larger fortified places had a tribune as a special commandant of the city, and the tribunes were under the authority of a *magister militum* or of a duke who commanded the frontier district and who was named by the exarch. These officers gradually took the place of the former provincial civil governors, and a military corporation, the *numerus*, succeeded the municipality (id., pp. 126 to 135). The military officials began to acquire extensive landed interests, the remnant of small land-owners became more completely subject to the large proprietors, and the foundations of something which afterwards resembled a feudal tenure began to be laid (p. 136). Under Phocas the relations between Italy and Constantinople became greatly relaxed and there was a decided weakening of the imperial power. Commerce suffered in the general disorganization of the empire, and the means of communication were neglected. On the other hand there was a growing disposition to come to terms with the Langobards, although as yet an armistice for a limited time, but often renewed, was all the concession that could be made, as the emperor was apparently still unwilling to recognize the permanency of Langobard domination (id., 198, 199). The exarch Smaragdus, whom Phocas had sent to Italy, co-operated more heartily than his predecessors with the pope (id., 200), and the new emperor issued a decree upholding the authority and primacy of the Roman See (Paul, IV, 36, *infra*). Active proceedings were renewed against the schismatics of Istria and Venetia, whose bishops now betook themselves to the protection of duke Gisulf of Friuli and of king Agilulf. The schismatic bishop John was consecrated as their patriarch in Cividale and the

Forum Julii (Friuli), who were previously separated by strife from the companionship of king Agilulf, were taken back by him this year in peace.[1] Then also was the above-named boy Adaloald, the son of king Agilulf, baptized in St. John in Modicia (Monza)[2] and was received from the font[3] by Secundus of Trent, a servant of Christ of whom we have often made mention.[4] The day of the Easter festival was at that time on the seventh day before the ides of April (April 7).

Chapter XXVIII.

In these days the Langobards still had a quarrel with the Romans on account of the captivity of the king's daughter.[5] For this reason king Agilulf departed from Mediolanum (Milan) in the month of July, besieged the city of Cremona with the Slavs whom the Cagan, king of the Avars, had sent to his assistance and took it

empire lost their support (IV, 33, *infra*, Hartmann, II, 1, 201). We even find some of them afterwards taking part on the side of the Arian king Arioald against the Catholic Adaloald in the contest for the Langobard crown (id., p. 208).

[1] If this year refers to the death of Maurice, it is 602; if it be connected with the baptism of Adaloald, that occurred in 603 (Hodgkin, VI, 34, note 1).

[2] Probably April 7, 603 (Hodgkin, V, 430, note 3).

[3] As his godson.

[4] Only once (III, 29, *supra*) and once afterwards (IV, 40, *infra*), but a great part of this book seems to be taken from his work. This baptism was a triumph for the Catholic faith over Arianism. Agilulf's predecessor Authari had forbidden the Langobard nobles to have their children baptized by Catholics (Hodgkin, V, 430).

[5] See chapter 20, *supra*.

on the twelfth day before the calends of September (August 21st)[1] and razed it to the ground. In like manner he also assaulted Mantua, and having broken through its walls with battering-rams he entered it on the ides (13th) of September,[2] and granted the soldiers who were in it the privilege of returning to Ravenna. Then also the fortress which is called Vulturina (Valdoria)[3] surrendered to the Langobards; the soldiers indeed fled, setting fire to the town of Brexillus (Brescello).[4] When these things were accomplished, the daughter of the king was restored by Smaragdus the patrician with her husband and children and all her property. In the ninth month peace was made up to the calends (first) of April of the eighth indiction.[5] The daughter of the king, indeed, presently returned from Ravenna to Parma; but she died immediately in the perils of a difficult child-birth. In this year[6] Teudepert and Theuderic, kings of the Franks, fought with their paternal uncle Clothar, and in this struggle many thousands fell on both sides.

[1] A. D. 603 (Hodgkin, V, 432). [2] A. D. 603 (id).

[3] Hodgkin (V, 432) places it on the northern bank of the Po not far from Parma, which is probably correct. Thus Waitz. Gianssevero, p. 134, believes that a castle named Vulturena at the upper end of lake Como at the entrance of the Valtellina is intended.

[4] Or as Waitz calls it, Bersello, and adds that it is not far from Reggio (d'Emilia). It was a town on the Po about ten miles from Parma (Hodgkin, V, 432; see III, 18 *supra*).

[5] April 1st, 605. This indiction began with the first of September, 604.

[6] A. D. 605 (Waitz).

Chapter XXIX.

Then also in the second year of the reign of Focas (Phocas), during the eighth indiction, the blessed Pope Gregory journeyed to Christ.[1] In his place Savinianus was appointed to the office of the papacy.[2] There was then a very cold winter and the vines died in nearly every place. Also the crops failed, partly destroyed by mice and partly smitten by the blight. And indeed the world was then bound to suffer from famine and drouth when, upon the departure of so great a leader, a lack of spiritual nourishment and the dryness of thirst attacked the souls of men. I may well put a few things in this little work from a certain letter of this same blessed Pope Gregory that it may more clearly be known how humble this man was and of how great innocence and holiness. When then he had been accused by the emperor Maurice and his sons[3] of killing in prison for money a certain bishop Malchus, he wrote a letter on this subject to Savinianus his legate, who was at Constantinople, and said to him among other things the following: "There is one thing you may briefly suggest to our Most Serene Lords, that if I, their servant, had chosen to mix myself up with the death even of Langobards, the people of the Langobards would to-day have neither king nor dukes nor counts and would be split

[1] Paul, following Bede as his authority, errs as to this date. Gregory died March, 604, in the seventh indiction—Phocas began to reign near the end of 602 in the sixth indiction (Waitz).

[2] *Apostolicatus* (see DuCange, tit. *Apostolicus*).

[3] I read *filios* for *filio*.

up in the utmost confusion. But because I fear God I dread to take part in the death of any man. This bishop Malchus indeed was neither in prison nor in any suffering but on the day on which he pleaded his cause and was adjudged, he was taken without my knowledge, by Boniface, a notary, to his home to dine there and was honorably treated by him and at night he suddenly died." Look! how great was the humility of this man who called himself a servant when he was the supreme pontiff! how great was his innocence, when he was unwilling to take part in the death of Langobards who indeed were unbelievers and were plundering everything!

Chapter XXX.

In the following summer then,[1] in the month of July, Adaloald was raised as a king over the Langobards, in the circus at Mediolanum (Milan) in the presence of his father, king Agilulf, and while the ambassadors of Teudepert, king of the Franks[2] were standing by; and the daughter of king Teudepert was betrothed to the same royal youth and perpetual peace was established with the Franks.[3]

[1] A. D. 604. Paul must have been mistaken in this date since Pope Gregory in Dec., 603, had written to Theudelinda sending certain gifts to "Adaloald the king" (Hodgkin, V, 447).

[2] Teudepert II, king of Austrasia (Hodgkin, VI, 108).

[3] A few years later (A. D. 607) Agilulf joined Teudepert as well as Clothar of Neustria, and Witterich, king of the Visigoths in an alliance against Theuderic II, of Burgundy, who had repudiated and divorced the daughter of Witterich. There is no record of the result of this alliance and in 612 war broke out again. Theu-

Chapter XXXI.

At the same time the Franks fought with the Saxons and there was a great slaughter on both sides. At Ticinum (Pavia) also, in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, Peter the director of the choir[1] was struck by lightning.

Chapter XXXII.

Afterwards, on the following month of November, king Agilulf made peace with Smaragdus the patrician for one year, receiving from the Romans[2] twelve thousand solidi.[3] Cities of Tuscany too, that is, Balneus Regis[4] (Bagnarea) and Urbs Vetus[5] (Orvieto) were

deric overcame Teudepert and put him to death, but what became of his daughter, the affianced bride of Adaloald, we are not informed. Theuderic then turned against Clothar, but suddenly died, leaving four illegitimate children. The eldest of these was Sigibert and in his name, his great grandmother, the old queen Brunihilde aspired to rule over Burgundy and Austrasia, but Arnulf, bishop of Metz, and Pepin, a great noble, went over to the side of Clothar, and in 613 Brunihilde and her great-grandchild were captured. She was tied to a vicious horse and trampled to death (Hodgkin, VI, 108–110).

[1] *Cantor* who instructed the choristers and younger clerics in music and directed the singing of the service. Sometimes this office was of considerable dignity and had a prebend attached to it. See DuCange.

[2] That is, the Greeks (Waitz).

[3] See III, 17, note 2, *supra*, as to the value of the solidus.

[4] "The King's Bath."

[5] "Old City." Both these places were afterwards in the States of the Church.

seized by the Langobards.[1] Then also in the month of April and May there appeared in the heavens a star which they call a comet. Afterwards king Agilulf again made peace with the Romans for three years.[2]

Chapter XXXIII.

In these days after the death of the patriarch Severus, the abbot John was ordained in his place[3] as patriarch in old Aquileia with the consent of the king and of duke Gisulf. In Gradus (Grado) also Candidianus was ordained bishop by the Romans.[4] Again in the months of November and December a comet appeared. When Candidianus also died, Epiphanius, who had been chief of the secretaries,[5] was ordained patriarch at Gradus by the bishops who were under the Romans. And from that time there began to be two patriarchs.[6]

[1] The seizure of these cities seems to have been in April, 605, before the commencement of the year of truce just mentioned (see Hartmann, II, 1, 197) which began in November of that year.

[2] 607 to 610 (Hartmann, II, 1, 197.

[3] In the Chronicle of the Patriarchs of New Aquileia (see Monticolo's ed., 1890, p. 9), Marcianus is placed between Severus and John, and it is stated that he held the office 3 years, 1 month and 5 days. Otherwise the list corresponds with that of Paul (Cipolla in Atti del Congresso in Cividale, 1899, p. 136).

[4] *Antistes*, a name given, not only to bishops and abbots, but also to priors and then to parish priests. Andrea Dandolo, a doge and chronicler of Venice in the 14th century, says that Marcianus preceded Candidianus (see Dandolo's Chronicle, Bk. VI, Ch. 3).

[5] *Primicerius notariorum*, Abel translates "Papal chief notary."

[6] The division in the patriarchate was due to the schism in

Chapter XXXIV.

At this time John of Consia[1] (Conza) took possession of Naples, but not many days afterwards Eleutherius, the patrician, drove him from that city and killed him. After these things that same patrician Eleutherius, a eunuch, assumed the rights of sovereignty. While he was proceeding from Ravenna to Rome he was killed[2] in the fortress of Luceoli[3] by the soldiers and his head was brought to the emperor at Constantinople.[4]

regard to the Three Chapters (III, 20 and 26, *supra*). The effect of the division was to throw the schismatics into the arms of the Langobards. The patriarch John, mentioned in the text, complained to Agilulf of the persecutions of the Greeks and said that three Istrian bishops had been dragged away by imperial soldiers and forced to hold communion with Candidianus at Grado, and he asked the king, now that that worthless man had gone to eternal torment, to prevent a new patriarch from being ordained at Grado. This, however, was not done. Some time later, one Fortunatus was made patriarch there, and being at heart a schismatic, he seized the treasure of the church and fled to the mainland, where he was made patriarch of Aquileia and the Langobards were asked in vain to give back the treasure. Finally the emperor Heraclius sent a large sum of money to Grado to make up for the loss (Hodgkin, V, 482, 483).

[1] Or "Compsa," a city in ancient Samnium on the Aufidus.

[2] Paul places the death of John of Consia and Eleutherius 10 or 12 years too early. According to the Liber Pontificalis, Eleutherius was killed A. D. 619 (Jacobi, 53), after Agilulf's death. See Hodgkin, VI, 156.

[3] Or "Luciuolo," which is believed to be located between Gubbio and Cagli, hence north of Perugia and south of Urbino (Muratori Ann., 4, 40).

[4] The usurpation of Eleutherius was one of a series of efforts to

Chapter XXXV.

Also at this time king Agilulf sent his secretary Stablicianus to Constantinople to the emperor Focas, and when he returned with the ambassadors of the emperor, peace was made for a year, and the ambassadors presented to king Agilulf imperial gifts.[1]

Chapter XXXVI.

Focas then, as has been already set forth, usurped the sovereignty of the Romans after the death of Maurice and his sons, and reigned during the course of eight years. Because the church of Constantinople was calling itself in writing the first of all churches, he ordained, at the request of Pope Boniface,[2] that the See of

separate Italy from the East, occasioned by the growing weakness of the empire. The exarch John, the immediate successor of Smaragdus had been killed with a number of other officers, and Eleutherius his successor had punished those who had been guilty of the crime, and had then become involved in an unsuccessful war with the Langobards with whom he had concluded an armistice in consideration of an annual tribute of 500 pounds of gold. Now he raised the standard of revolt with the design of establishing a new Western empire with Rome as its capital. He assumed the purple in Ravenna, and intended to be crowned in that city, but changed his purpose and was proceeding to Rome for his coronation when he was killed (see Hartmann, II, 1, 202, 203).

[1] This is the first instance of direct negotiations between the Langobards and Constantinople. Prior to this a truce had been made on several occasions with the exarch. These "imperial gifts" were probably in the nature of a tribute (Hartmann, II, 1, 198).

[2] Boniface III, A. D. 606, 607 (Abel).

the Roman and Apostolic Church should be the head of all. He commanded, at the request of another pope Boniface,[1] that the Church of the Ever-blessed Virgin Mary and of all the Martyrs should be established in the old temple which was called the Pantheon, after all the uncleannesses of idolatry had been removed, so that where formerly the worship, not of all the gods, but of all the devils was performed, there at last there should be a memorial of all the saints. At this time the Prasini and the Veneti[2] carried on a civil war throughout

[1] Boniface IV, A. D. 607–615 (Abel).

[2] So called from the colors of the contestants in the circus. At first a chariot race was a contest of two chariots with drivers in white and red liveries. Two additional colors, a light green (*prasinus*) and a cerulean blue (*venetus=caeruleus*, "the sky reflected in the sea") were afterwards introduced. The four factions soon acquired a legal establishment and their fanciful colors typified the various appearances of nature in the four seasons, or according to another interpretation, the struggle of the green and blue represented the conflict of the earth and sea. These contests disturbed the spectacles in the circus of imperial Rome and later, raged with redoubled fury in the hippodrome of Constantinople. Under Anastasius the Greens massacred at a solemn festival three thousand of the opposite faction. The Blues, favored by Justinian I, were the authors of widespread disorders and outrages at the capital, and in 532 a sedition called that of *Nika* was excited by the mutual hatred and momentary reconciliation of these factions, in which many of the most important buildings of the city were consumed, some thirty thousand persons slain, and the reign of Justinian himself was brought to the brink of destruction. The hippodrome closed for a time, but when it was opened again the disorders were renewed, (Gibbon, ch. 40,) and the text shows how widespread were the disturbances some three-quarters of a century later.

the East and Egypt and destroyed each other with mutual slaughter. The Persians also waged a very severe war against the empire, took away many provinces of the Romans, including Jerusalem itself,[1] and destroying churches and profaning holy things they carried off among the ornaments of places sacred and secular, even the banner of the cross of Christ. Heraclian, who was governing Africa, rebelled against this Focas and coming with his army, deprived him of his sovereignty and his life, and Heraclius, the son of Heraclian, undertook the government of the Roman state.[2]

Chapter XXXVII.

About these times the king of the Avars, whom they call Cagan in their language, came with a countless multitude and invaded the territories of Venetia.[3] Gisulf the duke of Forum Julii (Friuli) boldly came to meet him with all the Langobards he could get, but although

[1] This actually occurred later (A. D. 614) under Heraclius (Giansevero).

[2] A. D. 610 (Hartmann, II, 1, 200).

[3] The date usually assigned to the Avar invasion is 611, though some place it as early as 602. Phocas reigned from 602 to 610. If the death of Severus, patriarch of Aquileia, occurred in 606, the Avar invasion took place after that date, since Gisulf concurred in the nomination of his successor (Hodgkin, VI, 51, note). The previous relations between the Langobards and Avars had been of the most friendly character. There had been treaties of alliance, joint invasions of Istria, injunctions sent by the Avars to the Franks to keep peace with the Langobards and Agilulf had furnished the Cagan with shipwrights for a naval expedition against the Eastern empire (IV, 24, 20, *supra;* Hodgkin, VI, 50, 51).

he waged war with a few against an immense multitude with indomitable courage, nevertheless, he was surrounded on every side, and killed with nearly all his followers. The wife of this Gisulf, by name Romilda, together with the Langobards who had escaped and with the wives and children of those who had perished in war, fortified herself [1] within the enclosures of the walls of the fortress of Forum Julii (Cividale). She had two sons, Taso and Cacco, who were already growing youths, and Raduald and Grimuald, who were still in the age of boyhood. And she had also four daughters, of whom one was called Appa and another Gaila, but of two we do not preserve the names. The Langobards had also fortified themselves in other fortresses which were near these, that is, in Cormones (Cormons), Nemas (Nimis), Osopus (Ossopo),[2] Artenia (Artegna),[3] Reunia (Ragogna), Glemona (Gemona),[4] and also in Ibligis (Iplis)[5] whose position was in every way impregnable. Also in the same way they fortified themselves in the remaining castles, so that they should not become the prey of the Huns, that is, of the Avars. But the Avars, roaming through all the territories of Forum Julii, devastating everything with burnings and plunderings, shut up by siege the town of Forum Julii and strove with all their

[1] I insert *se* after *munitit*.

[2] On the river Tagliamento (Waitz).

[3] In Carnia (Waitz).

[4] In Friuli (Waitz).

[5] Near Cividale on the way to Cormons (Waitz). According to others, Invilino (Abel).

might to capture it. While their king, that is the Cagan, was ranging around the walls in full armor with a great company of horsemen to find out from what side he might more easily capture the city, Romilda gazed upon him from the walls, and when she beheld him in the bloom of his youth, the abominable harlot was seized with desire for him and straightway sent word to him by a messenger that if he would take her in marriage she would deliver to him the city with all who were in it. The barbarian king, hearing this, promised her with wicked cunning that he would do what she had enjoined and vowed to take her in marriage. She then without delay opened the gates of the fortress of Forum Julii and let in the enemy to her own ruin and that of all who were there. The Avars indeed with their king, having entered Forum Julii, laid waste with their plunderings everything they could discover, consumed in flames the city itself, and carried away as captives everybody they found, falsely promising them, however, to settle them in the territories of Pannonia, from which they had come. When on their return to their country they had come to the plain they called Sacred,[1] they decreed that all the Langobards who had attained full age should perish by the sword, and they divided the women and children in the lot of captivity. But Taso and Cacco and Raduald, the sons of Gisulf and Romilda, when they knew the evil intention of the Avars, straightway mounted their horses and took flight. One of them

[1] The Sacred Plain has not been identified (Hodgkin, VI, 53, note 2).

when he thought that his brother Grimoald, a little boy, could not keep himself upon a running horse, since he was so small, considered it better that he should perish by the sword than bear the yoke of captivity, and wanted to kill him. When therefore, he lifted his lance to pierce him through, the boy wept and cried out, saying: "Do not strike me for I can keep on a horse." And his brother, seizing him by the arm, put him upon the bare back of a horse and urged him to stay there if he could; and the boy, taking the rein of the horse in his hand, followed his fleeing brothers. The Avars, when they learned this, mounted their horses and followed them, but although the others escaped by swift flight, the little boy Grimoald was taken by one of those who had run up most swiftly. His captor, however, did not deign to strike him with the sword on account of his slender age, but rather kept him to be his servant. And returning to the camp, he took hold of the bridle of the horse and led the boy away, and exulted over so noble a booty—for he was a little fellow of elegant form with gleaming eyes and covered with long blonde hair—and when the boy grieved that he was carried away as a captive,

Pondering mighty thoughts within his diminutive bosom,[1]

he took out of the scabbard a sword, such as he was able to carry at that age, and struck the Avar who was leading him, with what little strength he could, on the

[1] Virgil, Georgics, IV, 83, where it is applied to the soldier bees. In Paul's quotation *versant* is changed to *versans*.

top of the head. Straightway the blow passed through to the skull and the enemy was thrown from his horse. And the boy Grimoald turned his own horse around and took flight, greatly rejoicing, and at last joined his brothers and gave them incalculable joy by his escape and by announcing, moreover, the destruction of his enemy. The Avars now killed by the sword all the Langobards who were already of the age of manhood, but the women and children they consigned to the yoke of captivity. Romilda indeed, who had been the head of all this evil-doing, the king of the Avars, on account of his oath, kept for one night as if in marriage as he had promised her, but upon the next he turned her over to twelve Avars, who abused her through the whole night with their lust, succeeding each other by turns. Afterwards too, ordering a stake to be fixed in the midst of a field, he commanded her to be impaled upon the point of it, uttering these words, moreover, in reproach: "It is fit you should have such a husband." Therefore the detestable betrayer of her country who looked out for her own lust more than for the preservation of her fellow citizens and kindred, perished by such a death. Her daughters, indeed, did not follow the sensual inclination of their mother, but striving from love of chastity not to be contaminated by the barbarians, they put the flesh of raw chickens under the band between their breasts, and this, when putrified by the heat, gave out an evil smell. And the Avars, when they wanted to touch them, could not endure the stench that they thought was natural to them, but moved far away from them with cursing, saying that all the Langobard

women had a bad smell. By this stratagem then the noble girls, escaping from the lust of the Avars, not only kept themselves chaste, but handed down a useful example for preserving chastity if any such thing should happen to women hereafter. And they were afterwards sold throughout various regions and secured worthy marriages on account of their noble birth; for one of them is said to have wedded a king of the Alamanni, and another, a prince of the Bavarians.

The topic now requires me to postpone my general history and relate also a few matters of a private character concerning the genealogy of myself who write these things, and because the case so demands, I must go back a little earlier in the order of my narrative. At the time when the nation of the Langobards came from Pannonia to Italy, my great-great-grandfather Leupchis of the same nation of Langobards came with them in like manner. When he ended his last day after he had lived some years in Italy, he left five sons begotten by him who were still little boys. That misfortune of captivity of which we have spoken included these, and they were all carried away as exiles from the fortress of Forum Julii into the country of the Avars. After they had borne in that region for many years the misery of bondage, and had already come to the age of manhood, although the four others, whose names we do not retain, remained in the constraint of captivity, the fifth brother, Lopichis by name, who was afterwards our great-grandfather, determined (at the inspiration as we believe of the Author of Mercy) to cast off the yoke of bondage, and to direct his course to Italy, where he had remem-

bered that the race of the Langobards was settled, and he made an effort to regain the rights of freedom. When he had gone and betaken himself to flight, carrying only a quiver and bow and a little food for the journey, and did not at all know whither he was proceeding, a wolf came to him and became the companion of his journey and his guide. Seeing that it proceeded before him, and often looked behind and stood with him when he stood, and went ahead when he advanced, he understood that it had been given to him from heaven to show to him the way, of which he was ignorant. When they had proceeded in this manner for some days through the solitudes of the mountains, the bread, of which the traveler had had very little, wholly failed him. While he went on his way fasting, and had already become faint with exhaustion from hunger, he drew his bow and attempted to kill with his arrow this same wolf so that he could use it for food. But the wolf, avoiding the stroke that he cast, slipped away from his sight. And he, not knowing whither to proceed, when this wolf had gone away, and made very weak moreover by the privation of hunger, now despaired of his life, and throwing himself upon the earth, he went to sleep. And he saw in his dreams a certain man saying to him the following words: "Arise! why are you sleeping? Take your way in that direction opposite to which your feet are turned, for there is Italy which you are seeking." And straightway rising he began to proceed in that direction which he had heard in his dreams, and without delay he came to a dwelling place of men; for there was a settlement of Slavs in those places.

And when an elderly woman now saw him, she straightway understood that he was a fugitive and suffering from the privation of hunger. And taking pity upon him, she hid him in her dwelling and secretly furnished him food, a little at a time, lest she should put an end to his life altogether if she should give him nourishment to repletion. In fine, she thus supplied him skillfully with food until he was restored and got his strength. And when she saw that he was now able to pursue his journey, she gave him provisions and told him in what direction he ought to go. After some days he entered Italy and came to the house in which he had been born, which was so deserted that not only did it have no roof but it was full of brambles and thorns. And when he had cut them down he found within the walls a large ash-tree, and hung his quiver upon it. He was afterwards provided with gifts by his relatives and friends, and rebuilt his house and took a wife. But he could obtain nothing of the property his father had had, being now excluded by those who had appropriated it through long and continuous possession. This man, as I already said before, was my great-grandfather, and he begot my grandfather Arichis,[1] and Arichis, my father Warnefrit, and Warnefrit, from Theudelinda his wife, begot me, Paul, and my brother Arichis who was named after my grandfather.[2] These few things having been con-

[1] Henry.

[2] Paul has probably omitted some links in his family genealogy. Four generations are very few for the period between Leupchis who came into Italy with Alboin, 568, and Paul, who was born between 720 and 730. It is remarkable too that Leupchis, a

sidered concerning the chain of my own genealogy, now let us return to the thread of the general history.

Chapter XXXVIII.

After the death, as we said, of Gisulf, duke of Forum Julii, his sons Taso and Cacco undertook the government of this dukedom. They possessed in their time the territory of the Slavs which is named Zellia (Gail-thal),[1] up to the place which is called Medaria (Windisch Matrei), hence, those same Slavs, up to the time of duke Ratchis, paid tribute to the dukes of Forum Julii. Gregory the patrician of the Romans killed these two brothers in the city of Opitergium (Oderzo) by crafty treachery. For he promised Taso that he would cut his beard,[2] as is the custom, and make him his son, and this Taso, with Cacco his brother, and some chosen youths came to Gregory fearing no harm. When presently he had entered Opitergium with his followers, straightway the patrician ordered the gates of the city to be closed and sent armed soldiers against Taso and his companions. Taso with his followers perceiving this, boldly prepared for a fight, and when a moment of quiet was given, they bade each other a last fare-

grown man in 568, should leave five little children at the time of the Avar invasion in 610 (Hodgkin, VI, 58, note 1).

[1] Hodgkin, VI, 59, note, and Hartmann, II, 1, 236. The valley of the Gail in Carinthia and eastern Tyrol.

[2] A ceremony indicating that he whose beard is shaved and whose hair is cut has arrived at the state of manhood. Thus king Liutprand performed a similar ceremony for the son of Charles Martel (Book VI, Chap. 53, *infra*).

well, and scattered hither and thither through the different streets of the city, killing whomsoever they could find in their way, and while they made a great slaughter of the Romans, they also were slain at last. But Gregory the patrician, on account of the oath he had given, ordered the head of Taso to be brought to him, and, perjured though he was, cut off his beard as he had promised.[1]

Chapter XXXIX.

When they were thus killed, Grasulf, the brother of Gisulf, was made duke of Forum Julii.[2] But Radoald and Grimoald, as they were now close to the age of manhood, held it in contempt to live under the power of their uncle Grasulf, and they embarked in a little boat and came rowing to the territories of Beneventum.

[1] Fredegarius (IV, 69) tells a story (which is considered by some to be a variation of this) as to the murder of Taso, duke of Tuscany, by the patrician Isaac. King Arioald offered Isaac to remit one of the three hundredweights of gold which the empire paid yearly to the Langobards if he would kill Taso, who was a rebel (see chap. 49). Isaac invited Taso to Ravenna with a troop of warriors who were prevailed upon to leave their arms outside the walls, and when they entered the city they were assassinated. The tribute was accordingly reduced. Soon afterwards Arioald died. As Arioald reigned from 626 to 636 and Isaac did not become exarch until 630, this story can not be reconciled with Paul's account of an event which must have happened many years earlier. Either Fredegarius got hold of an inaccurate version, or the coincidence of name is accidental and the story relates to some different event (Hodgkin, VI, 59, 60, note 2; Pabst, 429).

[2] De Rubeis (Appendix, p. 63) says this occurred A. D. 616.

Then hastening to Arichis, duke of the Beneventines, their former preceptor, they were received by him most kindly and treated by him in the place of sons. In these times, upon the death of Tassilo, duke of the Bavarians, his son Garibald was conquered by the Slavs at Aguntum (Innichen), and the territories of the Bavarians were plundered. The Bavarians, however, having recovered their strength, took away the booty from their foes and drove their enemies from their territories.

Chapter XL.

King Agilulf, indeed, made peace with the emperor for one year, and again for another, and also renewed a second time the bond of peace with the Franks. In this year, nevertheless, the Slavs grievously devastated Istria after killing the soldiers who defended it. Also in the following month of March, Secundus, a servant of Christ of whom we have already often spoken, died at Tridentum (Trent). He composed a brief history of the deeds of the Langobards up to his time.[1] At that time king Agilulf again made peace with the emperor. In those days Theudepert, king of the Franks, was also killed, and a very severe battle occurred among them. Gundualdo too, the brother of queen Theudelinda, who was duke in the city of Asta (Asti), died at this time, struck by an arrow, but no one knew the author of his death.

[1] After the death of Secundus in 612 Paul's source for the history of Trent becomes exhausted and we hear little more about that duchy.

Chapter XLI.

Then king Agilulf, who was called Ago, after he had reigned twenty-five years, ended his last day,[1] and his son Adaloald, who was still a boy, was left in the sovereignty with Theudelinda his mother. Under them the churches were restored and many gifts were bestowed upon the holy places. But when Adaloald, after he had reigned with his mother ten years, lost his reason and became insane, he was cast out of the sovereignty,[2] and

[1] Probably 615 or 616 (Waitz; Hodgkin, VI, 147, note 1).

[2] Fredegarius (Chron. 49) tells the story thus: that Adaloald, upon the advice of one Eusebius, anointed himself in the bath with some sort of ointment, and afterwards could do nothing except what he was told by Eusebius; that he was thus persuaded to order all the chief persons and nobles of the Langobards to be killed, and upon their death to surrender, with all his people to the empire; that when he had put twelve to death without their fault, the rest conspired to raise Arioald, duke of Turin, who had married Gundiperga, the sister of Adaloald, to the throne; that Adaloald took poison and died and Arioald straightway took possession of the kingdom.

Possibly the zeal of Theudelinda and Adaloald for the Catholic faith may have provoked a reaction among the Langobards, who had been Arians, and they may have become dissatisfied with the conciliatory policy toward the empire which was characteristic of the Bavarian line of sovereigns descended from Theudelinda. The legend of Eusebius was perhaps an expression of this dissatisfaction. Adaloald's successor was certainly an Arian. We have already seen (ch. 34, note, *supra*) that during Adaloald's time Eleutherius the exarch defeated John of Compsa who had revolted and taken possession of Naples, and put him to death. After this revolt the war with the Langobards was renewed and Sundrar the Langobard general repeatedly defeated the exarch, who finally obtained peace upon payment of a yearly tribute of

Arioald was substituted by the Langobards in his place.[1] Concerning the acts of this king hardly anything has come to our knowledge.[2] About these times the holy

five hundredweight of gold (Hodgkin, VI, 154, 155). We have also seen that Eleutherius afterwards aspired to independent sovereignty and was killed (IV, 34, *supra*), though Paul incorrectly places these occurrences during the reign of Agilulf. In 625 Pope Honorius I addressed a letter to Isaac the new exarch saying that some bishops beyond the Po had urged one Peter, who seems to have been a layman high in office, not to follow the Catholic Adaloald, but the tyrant Ariopalt (Arioald) (Hodgkin, VI, 158); since the crime of the bishops was odious, the pope asked the exarch to send them to Rome for punishment as soon as Adaloald was restored to his kingdom. This contest between Adaloald and his successor probably occurred between 624 and 626 (Hodgkin, VI, 160), and it would seem that Adaloald had taken refuge with the exarch in Ravenna from which Wiese (p. 284) infers that his death may have been by order of Isaac to avoid complications with the Langobards. We do not learn what part Theudelinda took in this contest. She died February 22nd, 628, shortly after the death of Adaloald (Hodgkin VI, 160).

[1] Probably A. D. 626 (Hodgkin, VI, 161).

[2] Fredegarius (IV, 51) tells us that Gundiperga (wife of Arioald and daughter of Agilulf and Theudelinda) said one day that Adalulf, a nobleman in the king's service, was a man of goodly stature, and Adalulf hearing this, proposed to her that she should be unfaithful to her marriage vow. She scorned his proposal whereupon he charged that she had granted a secret interview to Taso duke of Tuscany and had promised to poison the king and raise Taso to the throne. Upon this Arioald imprisoned her in a fortress. Two years afterwards Clothar II, king of the Franks, sent ambassadors to Arioald asking why she had been imprisoned and when the reason was given, one of the ambassadors suggested a trial by battle to ascertain her guilt or innocence. The duel accordingly took place, Adalulf was slain by the queen's champion and she was restored to her royal dignity (Hodgkin, VI, 161–163).

Columban, sprung from the race of Scots, after he had built a monastery in Gaul in the place called Luxovium (Luxeuil), came into Italy,[1] and was kindly received by the king of the Langobards, and built a convent in the Cottian Alps which is called Bobium (Bobbio) and is forty miles distant from the city of Ticinum.[2] In this

[1] Probably before this time and about A. D. 612 (Giansevero).

[2] St. Columban was born, not in Scotland but in Ireland about 543 and entered a monastery at Bangor at a period when the Irish monasteries were centers of culture. After some years he set forth to preach the gospel, first in Britain and then in Gaul. Sigispert, king of Austrasia, the husband of Brunihilde gave him a ruined village named Anagratis where he established a monastery, but after a while he retired to a cave, and was so famed for miracles that he drew around him many disciples and found it necessary to establish another monastery at Luxovium in the domains of Gunthram of Burgundy, now the Vosges. A third was established near by at Ad Fontanas (Hodgkin VI, 110, 113). Afterwards he incurred the enmity of Brunihilde and her grandson Theuderic of Burgundy (pp. 121–123) and was expelled from that kingdom. Under the protection of Theudepert of Austrasia he found a retreat at Bregenz on the Lake of Constance (p. 126) where he put an end to the worship of heathen gods, which had been practiced in the neighborhood. Upon Theudepert's death, which the saint had foretold, he betook himself to Italy where he was received with honor by Agilulf and Theudelinda (p. 131). He remained some months at Milan at the royal court and argued there with Arian ecclesiastics, until a certain Jocundus came to king Agilulf and spoke of the advantages for a monastic life offered by the village of Bobium on the Trebia among the Apennines (p. 132). Columban retired thither and there built the monastery which became an important instrument in converting the Langobards from Arianism, and in the spread of Roman culture among that people (Hartmann II, 2, 25). He was a man of great learning. He aided Theudelinda in her conflicts with Arianism, but he also be-

place also many possessions were bestowed by particular princes and Langobards, and there was established there a great community of monks.

Chapter XLII.

Then Arioald, after he had held the sovereignty over the Langobards twelve years, departed this life, and Rothari,[1] of the race of Arodus, received the kingdom of the Langobards.[2] And he was brave and strong,

came an adherent of the schismatics in the controversy of the Three Chapters, and Theudelinda used him in defending their cause, which he did in a long letter to Pope Boniface IV, the third successor of Gregory the Great. Agilulf desired to heal the schism and Columban states in his letter that the king was reported to have said that he too would believe the Catholic faith if he could know the certainty of the matter! Columban died in 615, the same year as Agilulf (Hodgkin, VI, 138–147).

[1] Hartmann (II, 1, 235) considers that in this reckoning, the time is probably included in which Arioald was in insurrection against Adaloald. Rothari ascended the throne in 636 (Waitz).

[2] Fredegarius relates that after the death of Arioald his widow Gundiperga was asked, as Theudelinda had been, to choose his successor; that her choice fell upon Rothari, whom she invited to put away his wife and marry her, which he did, but afterwards confined her in one little room in the palace, while he lived with his concubines; that after five years' seclusion the Frankish king Clovis II interceded and she was restored to her queenly dignities (Hodgkin, VI, 165, 166). This story sounds like a repetition of the account of Gundiperga's disgrace during the reign of her first husband. It would seem that Rothari's marriage to Gundiperga, like that of Agilulf to Theudelinda was to add a certain claim of legitimacy to his pretensions to the throne and perhaps the fact that he was an Arian and his wife a Catholic led to the story above related (Hartmann, II, 1, 239, 240).

and followed the path of justice;[1] he did not, however, hold the right line of Christian belief, but was stained by the infidelity of the Arian heresy.[2] The Arians, indeed, say to their own ruin that the Son is less than the Father, and the Holy Spirit also is less than the Father and the Son. But we Catholics confess that the Father and Son and Holy Spirit are one and the true God in three persons, equal in power and the same in glory. In this time there were two bishops throughout almost all the cities[3] of the kingdom, one a Catholic and the other an Arian. In the city of Ticinum too there is shown, down to the present time, the place

[1] Fredegarius relates (Chron. 71) that at the beginning of his reign he put to death many insubordinate nobles and that in his efforts for peace he maintained very strict discipline (Pabst, 430, note 3).

[2] With the exception of Adaloald, all the kings of the Langobards up to this time had been Arians though their religious convictions were not strong, and they were not generally intolerant (Hodgkin VI, 144, 145). The beliefs of the invaders under Alboin were somewhat heterogeneous. Some of his followers were probably still tinctured with the remnants of heathenism, most of them were Arians, while the Noricans and Pannonians who accompanied him to Italy (II, 26 *supra*) were Catholics (Hegel, Städteverfassung von Italien I, Ch. 3, p. 364). The conversion of the Langobards to the Catholic faith was promoted by their intermarriage with Roman wives. Theudelinda, who was a Catholic, had done much to further it. Even as early as the time of Gregory the Great there were Catholic bishops under the Langobards (id., p. 363).

[3] This is doubtful. Paul knew of some Arian bishops and doubtless he presumed, erroneously, the presence of Catholic bishops in the same places (Hartmann II, 1, 278).

where the Arian bishop, who had his seat at the church of St. Eusebius, had a baptistery, while another bishop sat in the Catholic church. Yet this Arian bishop, who was in the same city, Anastasius by name, became converted to the Catholic faith and afterwards governed the church of Christ. This king Rothari collected, in a series of writings, the laws of the Langobards which they were keeping in memory only and custom,[1] and he

[1] Compare this with the Chronicon Gothanum, (M. G., LLIV, p. 641) "Rothari reigned sixteen years and by him law and justice began with the Langobards and the judges first went through them in writing. For previously lawsuits were decided by custom, (*cadarfada*) discretion and usage." Rothari's Edict was published Nov. 22d, 643. It was composed of 388 chapters. Although written in Latin, the greater part of this Edict was of purely Langobard origin. By this code the man who conspired against the king or deserted his comrades in battle must suffer death, but those accused of a capital offense might appeal to the wager of battle. If freemen conspired and accomplished the death of another they were to compound for the murder according to the rank of the person slain (Hodgkin, VI, 175 to 179). If any one should "place himself in the way" of a free woman or girl or injure her he must pay nine hundred solidi (540 pounds sterling). If any one should "place himself in the way" of a free man he must pay him twenty solidi, if he had not done him any bodily injury. These provisions indicated the high estimation in which the free women were held. If any one should "place himself in the way" of another man's slave or hand-maid or *aldius* (half-free) he must pay twenty solidi *to his lord*. Bodily injuries were all catalogued, each of the teeth, fingers and toes being specially named and the price fixed for each. Many laws dealt specially with injuries to an *aldius* or to a household slave. These were not equivalent terms and it is generally believed that the vanquished Roman population were included in the first. A still lower class were the plantation

directed this code to be called the Edict. It was now

slaves (Hodgkin, VI, 180–189). In the laws of succession, provision was made for illegitimate as well as legitimate children, though less in amount. No father could disinherit his son except for certain grievous crimes. Donations of property were made in the presence of the *thing*, an assembly of at least a few freemen, a survival of the *folk-thing* of the ancient Germans, from which comes the Latinized word *thingare*, to grant or donate, and one of the laws of Rothari provides that, if a man shall wish to "thing away" his property to another, he must make the *gairethinx* (spear donation), not secretly, but before freemen. The Langobard women always remained under some form of guardianship (pp. 193–197). If a man should commit an immorality with a female slave "belonging to the nations" he must pay her lord twenty solidi, if with a Roman, twelve solidi, the Roman bond-woman being of less value than the slave of Teutonic or other origin. This is the only reference to Romans as such in Rothari's laws. If a slave or *aldius* married a free Langobard woman, her relatives had a right to slay her or sell her and divide her substance. No slave or *aldius* could sell property without the consent of his master or patron. Slaves might be emancipated in various ways, but there were severe laws for the pursuit and restoration of fugitives (pp. 204–211). In judicial procedure, a system of compurgation prevailed as well as the wager of battle (pp. 224–230).

Rothari's code was rude and barbarous to the last degree as compared with the elaborate system of Roman jurisprudence embodied in the laws of Justinian, under which the population of Italy had been living prior to the Langobard conquest. In Rothari's laws, although the rights of the clan, so important during the migration of the Langobards, became more and more subordinated to the rights of the state (Hartmann, II, 2, 11), the authority of the family still continued to be recognized as an important feature. The general assembly of freemen continued to add solemnity to important popular acts, such as the enactment of new laws or the selection of a king, although it was now manifestly impossible that

indeed the seventy-seventh year from the time when the Langobards had come into Italy, as that king bore wit-

such an assembly should consist, as in earlier times, of all those capable of bearing arms (id., pp. 12–13).

Villari (Le Invasioni Barbariche in Italia, p. 310) insists that the indirect action of Roman jurisprudence appears in Rothari's laws, not only in the Latin language in which they were written, in some Justinian-like phrases, and in an arrangement to some extent systematical, but also in certain provisions which he thinks cannot be of Germanic origin. He adds (p. 311) that it cannot be conceived how the Langobards could have destroyed a system of jurisprudence established for centuries which had created among the conquered Italians a number of legal relations unknown to their conquerors so that the laws of the latter could not provide for them, nor how Roman law could be destroyed and afterwards reappear in Langobard Italy, without any account of its disappearance and reappearance in documents or chronicles. He concludes that although not officially recognized, it was allowed to live under the form of custom, in many of the private relations that existed among the conquered Italians. This view is confirmed by the 204th law of Rothari which, speaking of "any free woman *living according to the law of the Langobards*," would indicate that there were others not living according to that law. Moreover it was declared (Hodgkin, VI, 231) that foreigners who came to settle in the land ought to live according to the laws of the Langobards unless they obtained from the king the right to live according to some other law. Villari also sees (p. 312) evidences of the persistency of Roman law in the subsequent legislation of Liutprand providing that if a Langobard, after having children, should become a churchman, they should continue to live subject to the law under which he had lived before becoming a churchman. This would indicate that after becoming a churchman, the father lived under another law, which must have been the Roman law. Villari (p. 329) also sees elsewhere in Liutprand's legislation evidences of canonical law.

ness in a prologue to his Edict.[1] To this king, Arichis, the duke of Beneventum sent his son Aio. And when the latter had come to Ravenna on his way to Ticinum, such a drink was there given him by the malice of the Romans that it made him lose his reason, and from that time he was never of full and sound mind.[2]

Chapter XLIII.

Therefore when duke Arichis, the father of him of whom we have spoken, was now ripe in years and nearing his last day, knowing that his son Aio was not of right mind, he commended Radoald and Grimoald,[4] now in the flower of their youth, as if they were his own sons, to the Langobards who were present, and said to them that these two could rule them better than could Aio his son.

Chapter XLIV.

Then on the death of Arichis, who had held the dukedom fifty years, Aio, his son, was made leader of the Samnites,[3] and still Radoald and Grimoald[4] obeyed him in all things as their elder brother and lord. When

[1] Rothari says the seventy-sixth year (Edicti Codices M. G. LL., IV, p. 1.) As to this, see note to I, 21, note 3, pp. 39, 40, *supra;* as to the so-called prologue, see Appendix, II, A. 1.

[2] His intercourse with the Romans, as in the case of Adaloald, seems to have led to insanity. Was this the Langobard idea of the effect of contact with Roman luxury and civilization upon the princes of their race?

[3] That is the Beneventines. This occurred A. D. 641 (Waitz).

[4] I follow here and in other places the spelling of Waitz's text which is not uniform.

this Aio had already governed the dukedom of Beneventum a year and five months, the Slavs came with a great number of ships and set up their camp not far from the city of Sipontum (Siponto). They made hidden pit-falls around their camp and when Aio came upon them in the absence of Raduald and Grimoald and attempted to conquer them, his horse fell into one of these pit-falls, the Slavs rushed upon him and he was killed with a number of others. When this was announced to Raduald he came quickly and talked familiarly with these Slavs in their own language,[1] and when in this way he had lulled them into greater indolence for war, he presently fell upon them, overthrew them with great slaughter, revenged the death of Aio and compelled those of his enemies who had survived to seek flight from these territories.[2]

Chapter XLV.

King Rothari then captured all the cities of the Romans which were situated upon the shore of the sea from the city of Luna (Luni) in Tuscany up to the boundaries of the Franks.[3] Also he captured and de-

[1] Raduald and Grimoald had been neighbors to the Slavs in the dukedom of Fruili from which they had come to Beneventum (Waitz).

[2] A. D. 642 (Hartmann, II, 1, 244).

[3] Rothari was a representative of the national, anti-Roman, Arian feeling among the Langobards; so the peace with the empire was broken and war renewed. He thus rounded out his possessions in the northern part of the kingdom, and Neustria, the western portion of these dominions, began to be distinguished from Austria, east of the Adda, which was more immediately subject to the dukes of Trent and Friuli (Hartmann, II, 1, 243).

stroyed Opitergium (Oderzo)[1] a city placed between Tarvisium (Treviso) and Forum Julii (Cividale). He waged war with the Romans of Ravenna[2] near the river of Emilia which is called the Scultenna (Panaro). In this war eight thousand fell on the side of the Romans and the remainder took to flight. At this time a great earthquake occurred at Rome and there was then a great inundation of the waters. After these things there was a scab disease of such a kind that no one could recognize his own dead on account of the great swelling and inflammation.[3]

Chapter XLVI.

But when duke Raduald, who had managed the dukedom five years, died at Beneventum, Grimuald his brother became duke and governed the dukedom of the Samnites five and twenty years. From a captive girl, but one of high birth, however, whose name was Ita, he begot a son Romuald and two daughters. And since he was a very warlike man and distinguished everywhere, when the Greeks at that time came to plunder the sanctuary of the holy arch-angel[4] situated upon Mount Garganus (Gargano), Grimuald, coming upon them with his army, overthrew them with the utmost slaughter.

[1] This destruction was not complete, but twenty-five years later under Grimoald, the place was entirely annihilated (V, 28, *infra*).

[2] Who were under the exarch Isaac (Hodgkin, VI, 169).

[3] The earthquake and plague are placed by the Liber Pontificalis in the sixth indiction (617–618), and incorrectly placed by Paul during the reign of Rothari (636–652) (Jacobi, 54).

[4] Michael.

Chapter XLVII.

But king Rothari indeed, after he had held the sovereignty sixteen years and four months, departed from life[1] and left the kingdom of the Langobards to his son Rodoald. When he had been buried near the church of St. John the Baptist,[2] after some time, a certain man inflamed by wicked cupidity opened his sepulcher at night and took away whatever he found among the ornaments of his body. St. John appearing to him in a vision frightened him dreadfully and said to him, "Why did you dare to touch the body of that man? Although he may not have been of the true faith yet he has commended himself to me. Because therefore you have presumed to do this thing you will never hereafter have admission into my church." And so it occurred; for as often soever as he wished to enter the sanctuary of St. John, straightway his throat would be hit as if by a very powerful boxer and thus stricken, he suddenly fell down backwards. I speak the truth in Christ; he who saw with his own eyes that very thing done related this to me. Rodoald then received the kingdom of the Langobards after the death of his father, and united with himself in marriage Gundiperga the daughter of Agilulf and Theudelinda.[3] This Gundiperga in imitation of her mother, just as the latter had done in Modicia

[1] A. D. 652 (Hodgkin, VI, 241).

[2] In Modicia (Monza) or possibly in Ticinum (Waitz).

[3] If Fredegarius (Chapters 50, 51, 70) be correct Paul must be mistaken, since Gundiperga was the wife of king Arioald and after his death, of Rothari, and was now over fifty years old (Waitz).

(Monza), so the former within the city of Ticinum (Pavia) built a church in honor of St. John the Baptist, which she decorated wonderfully with gold and silver and draperies and enriched bountifully with particular articles, and in it her body lies buried. And when she had been accused to her husband of the crime of adultery, her own slave, Carellus by name, besought the king that he might fight in single combat for the honor of his mistress, with him who had imputed the crime to the queen. And when he had gone into single combat with that accuser he overcame him in the presence of the whole people. The queen indeed after this was done, returned to her former dignity.[1]

Chapter XLVIII.

Rodoald after he had reigned five years[2] and seven days was killed as is said by a certain Langobard whose wife he had defiled, and Aripert, son of Gundoald, who had been the brother of queen Theudelinda, followed him in the government of the kingdom.[3] He estab-

[1] Hartmann (II, 1, 274) believes that Paul relates here the story of the first imprisonment of Gundiperga given by Fredegarius but has transposed it to a period two decades later (see Ch. 41, note, *supra*).

[2] Paul should have written here five months instead of five years (Waitz). He probably died about March, 653 (Hartmann, II, 1, 275).

[3] There is no record of the events which led to the succession of Aripert, a Catholic of the Bavarian house and friendly to the Romans, in place of the Arian, anti-Roman dynasty of Rothari (Hartmann, II, 1, 244).

lished at Ticinum a sanctuary of our Lord and Saviour, which lay outside the western gate that is called Marenca and he decorated it with various ornaments and enriched it sufficiently with possessions.

CHAPTER XLIX.

In these days when the emperor Heraclius had died at Constantinople,[1] his son Heraclones with his mother Martina received the rights of sovereignty and ruled the empire for two years. And when he departed from life his brother Constantine, another son of Heraclius, followed in his place and reigned six months. When he also died his son Constantine rose to the dignity of the sovereignty and held the imperial power for eight and twenty years.

CHAPTER L.

About these times the wife of the king of the Persians, Cesara by name, on account of her love of the Christian faith, departed out of Persia in private dress with a few of her faithful followers, and came to Constantinople. She was honorably received by the emperor and after some days obtained baptism as she desired and was raised from the sacred font by the empress.[2] When her husband the king of the Persians heard this, he sent ambassadors to Constantinople to the emperor in order

[1] The death of Heraclius (A. D. 641) is erroneously placed by Paul after the death of Rodoald 653 (Waitz) and after the taking of Oderzo by Rothari (IV, 45, *supra*). See Simonsfeld's article on Dandolo (Archivio Veneto, 14, p. 141).

[2] That is the empress became her god-mother (Abel).

that the latter should restore to him his wife. When they came to the emperor they reported the words of the king of the Persians who demanded his queen. The emperor hearing these things and being altogether ignorant of the affair, returned them an answer saying: "We confess that we know nothing concerning the queen you seek except that a woman came to us here in the dress of a private person." But the ambassadors answered saying: "If it please your Imperial Presence we would like to see this woman you speak of," and when she had come by command of the emperor, presently the ambassadors looked upon her attentively, prostrated themselves at her feet and suggested to her with reverence that her husband wanted her. She replied to them: "Go, take back the answer to your king and lord that unless he also shall so believe in Christ as I have already believed, he can now no more have me as the partner of his bed." Why say more? The ambassadors returned to their country and reported again to their king all they had heard. And he without any delay came peaceably with sixty thousand men to Constantinople to the emperor by whom he was joyfully received and in a very suitable manner. And he, with the whole of them, believing in Christ our Lord, was in like manner with all the rest sprinkled[1] with the water of holy baptism and was raised by the emperor from the font and confirmed in the Catholic faith; and having been honored by the emperor with many gifts, he took

[1] *Perfusus* (see DuCange) seems to indicate sprinkling rather than immersion, though the latter was at this time the more usual form except in the case of those about to die.

his wife and returned happy and rejoicing to his own country.[1] About these times upon the death of duke Grasulf at Cividale, Ago undertook the government of the dukedom of Forum Julii. At Spoletium (Spoleto) also upon the death of Theudelaupus, Atto was made commander of that city.[2]

Chapter LI.

Aripert then, after he had ruled at Ticinum for nine years, died,[3] leaving the kingdom to be governed by his two sons, Perctarit and Godepert who were still of youthful age.[4] And Godepert, indeed, had the seat of his kingdom at Ticinum, but Perctarit, at the city of Mediolanum. Between these brothers, at the instigation of evil men, quarrels and the kindling of hatreds arose to such a degree that each attempted to usurp the royal power of the other. Wherefore Godepert sent Garipald, duke of Turin, to Grimuald, who was then the enterprising leader of the people of Beneventum, inviting him to come as soon as possible and bring aid to him against his brother Perctarit, and promising to give him his sister, the daughter of the king. But the ambassador, acting treacherously against his master, exhorted Grim-

[1] This account is wholly fictitious. Chosroes II, although well disposed toward the Christian faith did not abjure his own (Waitz).

[2] A. D. 653–663 (Hodgkin, VI, 96).

[3] A. D. 661 (Hodgkin, VI, 241).

[4] This is the first instance of a divided inheritance of the kingdom, if indeed we can speak of inheritance at all of a kingdom where the succession varied so greatly as in that of the Langobards.

uald to come and himself seize the kingdom of the Langobards which the two youthful brothers were dissipating, since he was ripe in age, prudent in counsel and strong in resources. When Grimuald heard these things he presently set his mind upon obtaining the kingdom of the Langobards, and having established his son Romuald as duke of Beneventum, he took his way with a chosen band to proceed to Ticinum, and in all the cities through which his route lay he drew to himself friends and auxiliaries for getting the kingdom. He dispatched, indeed, Count Transemund, of Capua, through Spoletium (Spoleto) and Tuscia (Tuscany) to attach the Langobards of those regions to an alliance with him. Transemund carried out his orders energetically, and met him on the way in Emilia with many auxiliaries. Therefore when Grimuald had come near Placentia (Piacenza) with a strong body of men, he dispatched ahead to Ticinum Garipald, who had been sent as a messenger to him by Godepert, so as to announce his coming to this same Godepert. And when Garipald came to Godepert he said that Grimuald was quickly approaching. When Godepert asked him in what place he ought to prepare entertainment for this Grimuald, Garipald answered as follows: That it was fitting that Grimuald, who had come for his sake and was going to take his sister in marriage, should have his place of entertainment within the palace. And this also was so done, for when Grimuald came, he received his lodging within the palace. But this same Garipald, the sower of the whole wickedness, persuaded Godepert to come and speak with Grimuald only after putting on a cuirass

under his clothing, saying that Grimuald wanted to kill him. Again this same artist in deceit came to Grimuald and said that unless he equipped himself stoutly Godepert would kill him with his sword, declaring that Godepert was wearing a cuirass under his clothing when he came to confer with him. Why say more? When, upon the following day, they had come to conference and Grimuald, after salutation, had embraced Godepert he immediately perceived that he was wearing a cuirass under his clothing, and without delay, he unsheathed his sword and deprived him of life,[1] and usurping his kingdom and all his power, he subjugated it to his dominion. But Godepert then had a son, a little boy, Raginpert by name, who was carried away by the faithful followers of his father and brought up secretly; nor did Grimuald care to pursue him since he was still a little child. When Perctarit, who was ruling at Mediolanum, heard that his brother was killed, he took flight with what speed he could and came to the Cagan, king of the Avars, leaving behind his wife Rodelinda and a little son named Cunincpert, both of whom Grimuald sent in exile to Beneventum. When these things had been thus brought to pass, Garipald, by whose instigation and effort they had been accomplished—and not only had he done these acts, but he had also committed a fraud in his embassy, since he had not transmitted whole and entire the gifts he ought to have brought to Beneventum—the performer of such deeds then did not long rejoice. There was, indeed, in the household of

[1] A. D. 662 (Hodgkin, VI, 243; Hartmann, II, 1, 275).

Godepert a little dwarf who came from the city of Turin. When he knew that duke Garipald, upon the very holy day of Easter would come to pray in the church of St. John, he got up on the sacred font of the baptistery and held himself by his left hand to a little column supporting the canopy[1] where Garipald was about to pass, and having drawn his sword he held it under his clothing, and when Garipald had come near him to pass through, he lifted his garment and struck him on the neck with his sword with all his might and cut off his head upon the spot. Those who had come with Garipald fell upon him, killing him with wounds from many blows, but although he died, he still signally avenged the wrong done to his master Godepert.

[1] *Tugurium*, a place shut off and covered from above. See DuCange. The font itself had a roof or cover supported by small columns.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

When therefore Grimuald had been confirmed in the sovereignty[1] at Ticinum, he married not long afterward king Aripert's daughter who had already been betrothed to him and whose brother Godepert he had killed. He sent back indeed to their own homes, supplied with many gifts, the army of Beneventines by whose aid he had acquired the sovereignty. He kept however quite a number of them to dwell with him, bestowing upon them very extensive possessions.

CHAPTER II.

When he afterwards learned that Perctarit had gone to Scythia as an exile and was living with the Cagan, he sent word to this Cagan, king of the Avars, by ambassadors that if he kept Perctarit in his kingdom he could not thereafter have peace, as he had had hitherto, with the Langobards and with himself. When the king of the Avars heard this, Perctarit was brought into his presence and he said to him that he might go in what direction he would, so that the Avars should not incur enmity with the Langobards on his account.[2] When Perctarit

[1] A. D. 662 (Waitz). Grimuald, whose brothers, Taso and Cacco, had been treacherously murdered by the exarch in Oderzo, represented the national, anti-Roman sentiment of his people and was continually engaged in wars against the empire.

[2] According to another account Perctarit testified to the good

heard these things he went back to Italy to return to Grimuald for he had heard that he was very merciful. Then when he had come to the city of Lauda[1] (Lodi Vecchio) he sent ahead of him to king Grimuald, Unulf, a man most faithful to him to announce that Perctarit was approaching trusting to his protection. When the king heard this he promised faithfully that since Perctarit came trusting him he should suffer no harm. Meanwhile Perctarit arrived and went forward to Grimuald, and when he attempted to fall down at his feet, the king graciously held him back and raised him up to receive his kiss. Perctarit said to him: "I am your servant. Knowing you to be most Christian and pious, although I can live among the heathen, yet relying upon your mercy I have come to your feet." And the king with an oath, as he was wont, promised him again saying: "By Him who caused me to be born, since you have come to me trusting me, you will suffer nothing evil in any way but I will so provide for you that you can live becomingly." Then offering him a lodging in a spacious house, he bade him have a rest after the toil of the journey, ordering that food and whatever things were necessary should be supplied to him bountifully at public expense. But when Perctarit had come to the dwelling prepared for him by the king, presently throngs of the citizens of Ticinum began to

faith of the Cagan who had refused a whole *modius* full of gold solidi for his betrayal (Waitz).

[1] The ancient Roman colony Laus Pompeia, a short distance southeast of Milan and northeast of Padua.

gather around him to see him and salute him as an old acquaintance. But what cannot an evil tongue interrupt? For presently certain wicked flatterers coming to the king declared to him that unless he quickly deprived Perctarit of life, he would himself at once lose his kingdom with his life, asserting that the whole city had gathered around Perctarit for this purpose. When he heard these things, Grimuald became too credulous and forgetting what he had promised, he was straightway incited to the murder of the innocent Perctarit and took counsel in what way he might deprive him of life on the following day, since now the hour was very late. Finally in the evening he sent to him divers dishes, also special wines and various kinds of drinks so that he could intoxicate him, to the end that relaxed by much drinking during the night and buried in wine, he could think nothing of his safety. Then one who had been of his father's train, when he brought a dish from the king to this Perctarit, put his head under the table as if to salute him and announced to him secretly that the king was arranging to kill him. And Perctarit straightway directed his cup-bearer that he should give him to drink in a silver drinking vessel nothing but a little water. And when those who brought him drinks of different kinds from the king asked him upon the command of the king to drink the whole cup, he promised to drink it all in honor of the king, and took a little water from the silver cup. When the servants announced to the king that he was drinking insatiably, the king merrily answered: "Let that drunkard drink; but to-morrow he will spill out the same wines mixed with

blood." And Perctarit quickly called Unulf to him and announced to him the design of the king concerning his death. And Unulf straightway sent a servant to his house to bring him bed clothing[1] and ordered his couch to be put next to the couch of Perctarit. Without delay king Grimuald directed his attendants that they should guard the house in which Perctarit was reposing so that he could not escape in any way. And when supper was finished and all had departed and Perctarit only had remained with Unulf and Perctarit's valet,[2] who in any case were entirely faithful to him, they disclosed their plan to him and begged him to flee while the valet would pretend as long as possible that his master was sleeping within that bed chamber. And when he had promised to do this, Unulf put his own bed clothes and a mattress and a bear's skin upon the back and neck of Perctarit and began to drive him out of the door according to the plan, as if he were a slave from the country, offering him many insults, and did not cease moreover to strike him with a cudgel from above and urge him on, so that driven and struck he often fell to the ground. And when the attendants of the king who had been put on guard asked that same Unulf why this was, "That worthless slave," he says, "has put my bed in the chamber of that drunken Perctarit who is so full of wine that he lies there as if he were dead. But it is enough that I have followed his

[1] According to DuCange *lectisternia* means the trappings of a bed, cushions, bolster, etc.

[2] *Vestiarius*, he who has charge of one's clothing (DuCange).

madness up to the present time. From now on, during the life of our lord the king, I will stay in my own house." When they heard these things and believed what they heard to be true, they were delighted, and making way for the two, they let pass both him and Perctarit, whom they thought was a slave and who had his head covered that he should not be recognized. And while they were going away, that most faithful valet bolted the door carefully and remained inside alone. Unulf indeed let Perctarit down by a rope from the wall at a corner which is on the side of the river Ticinum (Ticino) and collected what companions he could, and they, having seized some horses they had found in a pasture, proceeded that same night to the city of Asta (Asti) in which the friends of Perctarit were staying, and those who were still rebels against Grimuald. Thence Perctarit made his way as quickly as possible to the city of Turin, and afterwards passed across the boundaries of Italy and came to the country of the Franks. Thus God Almighty by His merciful arrangement delivered an innocent man from death and kept from offense a king who desired in his heart to do good.

Chapter III.

But king Grimuald, indeed, since he thought that Perctarit was sleeping in his lodging, caused a line of men to stand by on either side from this place of entertainment up to his palace, so that Perctarit might be led through the midst of them in order that he could not at all escape. And when those sent by the king had come and called Perctarit to the palace, and

knocked at the door where they thought he was sleeping, the valet who was inside begged them saying: "Have pity with him and let him sleep a little because he is still wearied by his journey and oppressed by very heavy slumber." And when they had acquiesced, they announced this thing to the king, that Perctarit was sleeping up to this time in a heavy slumber. Then the king said: "Last evening he so filled himself with wine that now he cannot waken." He ordered them, however, to arouse him at once and bring him to the palace. And when they came to the door of the bed-room in which they believed that Perctarit was sleeping, they began to knock more sharply. Then the valet began to beg them again that they would let this Perctarit still, as it were, sleep a little. And they cried out in rage that that drunken man had already slept enough. Straightway they broke open the door of the bed-chamber with their heels, entered, and looked for Perctarit in the bed. And when they did not find him, they supposed he was sitting down to the requirements of nature, and when they did not find him there, they asked that valet what had become of Perctarit. And he answered them that he had fled. Furious with rage they beat him, and seized him by the hair and straightway dragged him to the palace. And conducting him into the presence of the king they said that he was privy to the flight of Perctarit and therefore most deserving of death. The king directed him to be released and asked him in due order in what way Perctarit had escaped and he related to the king all the occurrences as they had taken place. Then the king asked those who were

standing around and said: "What do you think of this man who has committed such things?" Then all answered with one voice that he deserved to die, racked with many torments, but the king said: "By Him who caused me to be born this man deserves to be treated[1] well, who for the sake of fidelity to his master did not refuse to give himself up to death." And presently, he ordered that he should be among his own valets enjoining him to observe toward himself the same fidelity he had kept to Perctarit and promising to bestow upon him many advantages. And when the king asked what had become of Unulf,[2] it was announced to him that he had taken refuge in the church of the Blessed Archangel Michael. And he presently sent to him voluntarily promising that he should suffer no harm if he would only come and trust him. Unulf indeed, hearing this promise of the king, presently came to the palace and having fallen at the king's feet, was asked by him how and in what way Perctarit had been able to escape. But when he had told him everything in order, the king, praising his fidelity and prudence, graciously conceded to him all his [2]means and whatever he had been able to possess.

Chapter IV.

And when after some time the king asked Unulf whether he would then like to be with Perctarit, he answered with an oath that he would rather die with

[1] Read *haberi* for *habere*.

[2] *Ejus facultates*. There is doubt whether this refers to the property of Unulf or of Perctarit (Hodgkin, VI, 251, note 1).

Perctarit than live anywhere else in the greatest enjoyment. Then the king also called for that valet, asking him whether he would prefer to stay with him in the palace or to spend his life wandering with Perctarit, and when he had given a like answer with Unulf, the king took their words kindly, praised their fidelity and directed Unulf to take from his house whatever he wanted, namely, his servants and his horses and furniture of all kinds and to proceed without harm to Perctarit. And in like manner also he dismissed that valet, and they, taking away all their goods, as much as they needed, according to the kindness of the king, set out with the help of the king himself into the country of the Franks to their beloved Perctarit.

Chapter V.

At this time an army of the Franks, coming forth from Provincia (Provence), entered into Italy. Grimuald advanced against them with the Langobards and deceived them by this stratagem: he pretended indeed to flee from their attack and left his camp with his tents quite clear of men but filled with divers good things and especially with an abundance of excellent wine. When the troops of the Franks had come thither, thinking that Grimuald with the Langobards had been terrified by fear and had abandoned their whole camp, they straightway became merry and eagerly took possession of everything and prepared a very bountiful supper. And while they reposed, weighed down with the various dishes and with much wine and sleep, Grimuald rushed upon them after midnight and overthrew them with so

great a slaughter that only a few of them escaped and were able with difficulty to regain their native country. The place where this battle was fought is called up to this time the Brook of the Franks [1] (Rivoli) [2] and it is not far distant from the walls of the little city of Asta (Asti).

Chapter VI.

In these days the emperor Constantine who was also called Constans, [3] desiring to pluck Italy out of the hand

[1] *Rivus Francorum.*

[2] Not the same as the scene of Napoleon's victory.

[3] Constans II, or more correctly Constantine IV, was born A. D. 631, and became emperor in 642, when only eleven years old, on the death of his father Constantine III. During his reign the Saracens conquered Armenia (Hodgkin, VI, 253) and seized Cyprus and Rhodes. He fought in person a naval battle with them off the coast of Lycia in 655 and was defeated. In his reign the doctrine of the Monotheletes or those who maintained that there was only one will in the nature of the Saviour, agitated the empire, and popes and patriarchs wrangled bitterly upon the subject. His grandfather Heraclius had declared in favor of the Monothelete heresy, even pope Honorius (Hartmann, II, 1, 217) at one time acquiesced in it though he deprecated the strife and desired the church to abide by its ancient formulas. Finally, Constans in 648 when only seventeen years of age issued his *Type*, forbidding controversy upon both sides. Pope Martin I, whose appointment lacked the confirmation of the emperor and who was regarded by the latter as a usurper, convened in 649, a council in the Lateran palace and anathematized the *Type* and its defenders (Hodgkin, VI, 255, 256). Constans regarded these proceedings as acts of rebellion and sent his chamberlain Olympius as exarch to Italy in 649 with directions to secure the acceptance of the *Type* and if possible to bring pope Martin a prisoner to Constantinople; but the exarch found public opinion and the disposition of the

of the Langobards, left Constantinople[1] and taking his way along the coast, came to Athens, and from there, having crossed the sea, he landed at Tarentum.[2] Previously, however, he went to a certain hermit who was said to have the spirit of prophecy, and sought eagerly to know from him whether he could overcome and conquer the nation of the Langobards which was dwelling in Italy. The servant of God had asked him for the space of one night that he might supplicate the Lord for this thing, and when morning came he thus answered

army so adverse that he was compelled to renounce the project, and soon afterwards became the ally of the Pope and the Italians (Hartmann, II, 1, 227), and with their support assumed independent authority and led an army in Sicily against the Saracens where he died in 652 (id., p. 228). These acts were naturally regarded as an insurrection against the empire, and upon his death Constans sent Calliopas to Italy as exarch, who in June, 653, coming to Rome with the army from Ravenna, seized the Pope, who had taken refuge in the Lateran basilica, declared his deposition and sent him as a prisoner to Constantinople, where he arrived after long delays, was tried for treason, insulted, forced to stand as a public spectacle in the Hippodrome, was loaded with irons, immured in a dungeon and sentenced to death, but this was commuted to banishment in the Crimea. There he languished and died in 655 (Hodgkin, VI, 259–268). He was succeeded by Eugenius (A. D. 657) who was chosen Pope while Martin was still alive and Eugenius was followed by Vitalian (A. D. 657–672), who lived on terms of accommodation with the emperor, although there is no evidence that he abjured the doctrines of his predecessors (Hartmann, II, 1, 232, 233). It was under Vitalian that Constans' visit to Italy described in this chapter occurred.

[1] A. D. 662 (Hodgkin, VI, 270).

[2] A. D. 663 (Hodgkin, VI, 271).

the emperor: "The people of the Langobards cannot be overcome in any way, because a certain queen coming from another province has built the church of St. John the Baptist in the territories of the Langobards, and for this reason St. John himself continually intercedes for the nation of the Langobards. But a time shall come when this sanctuary will be held in contempt and then the nation itself shall perish." We have proved that this has so occurred, since we have seen that before the fall of the Langobards, this same church of St. John which was established in the place called Modicia (Monza) was managed by vile persons so that this holy spot was bestowed upon the unworthy and adulterous, not for the merit of their lives, but in the giving of spoils.

Chapter VII.

Therefore after the emperor Constans, as we said, had come to Tarentum, he departed therefrom and invaded the territories of the Beneventines and took almost all the cities of the Langobards through which he passed. He also attacked bravely and took by storm Luceria, a rich city of Apulia, destroyed it and leveled it to the ground. Agerentia[1] (Acerenza), however, he could not at all take on account of the highly fortified position of the place. Thereupon he surrounded Beneventum with all his army and began to reduce it energetically. At that time Romuald, the son of Grimuald, still a young man, held the dukedom there and as soon

[1] A fortress on one of the outlying buttresses of Monte Vulture (Hodgkin, VI, 273).

as he learned of the approach of the emperor, he sent his tutor, Sesuald by name, to his father Grimuald on the other side of the Padus (Po) begging him to come as soon as possible and strongly reinforce his son and the Beneventines whom he himself had reared. When king Grimuald heard this he straightway started to go with an army to Beneventum to bring aid to his son. Many of the Langobards left him on the way and returned home saying that he had despoiled the palace and was now going back to Beneventum not to return. Meanwhile the army of the emperor was assaulting Beneventum vigorously with various machines of war and on the other hand Romuald with his Langobards was resisting bravely, and although he did not dare to engage hand to hand with so great a multitude on account of the smallness of his army, yet frequently dashing into the camp of the enemy with young men sent out for that purpose, he inflicted upon them great slaughter upon every side. And while Grimuald his father was now hastening on, he sent to his son to announce his approach, that same tutor of his of whom we have spoken. And when the latter had come near Beneventum he was captured by the Greeks and brought to the emperor, who asked of him whence he had come, and he said he had come from King Grimuald and he announced the speedy approach of that king. Straightway the emperor, greatly alarmed, took counsel with his followers in what way he could make a treaty with Romuald so as to return to Naples.

Chapter VIII.

After he had taken as a hostage the sister of Romuald whose name was Gisa, he made peace with him. He ordered the tutor Sesuald indeed to be led to the walls, threatening death to him if he should announce anything to Romuald or the people of the city concerning the approach of Grimuald, and (demanding) that he should rather declare that the king could not come. He promised that he would do this, as was enjoined upon him, but when he had come near the walls he said he wanted to see Romuald. And when Romuald had quickly come thither he thus spoke to him: "Be steadfast, master Romuald, have confidence and do not be disturbed since your father will quickly come to give you aid. For know that he is stopping this night near the river Sangrus (Sangro)[1] with a strong army. Only I beseech you to have pity on my wife and children since this faithless race will not suffer me to live." When he had said this, his head was cut off by command of the emperor and thrown into the city by an instrument of war which they call a stone-thrower.[2] This head Romuald ordered brought to him and kissed it weeping and commanded that it should be buried in a suitable casket.[3]

[1] In the present province of Abruzzi (Waitz), about fifty miles from Benevento.

[2] *Petraria.*

[3] All this as well as the two following chapters, seems inconsistent with the peace with Romuald mentioned in the first sentence of this chapter. Waitz suggests that possibly the peace was made after the incidents concerning Sesuald.—Possibly Paul combined in his history accounts taken from two contradictory sources.

Chapter IX.

Then the emperor, fearing the sudden approach of king Grimuald, broke up the siege of Beneventum and set out for Neapolis (Naples). Mitola, however, the Count of Capua, forcibly defeated his army near the river Calor (Calore), in the place which up to the present time is called Pugna (the fight).[1]

Chapter X.

After the emperor came to Naples it is said that one of his chief men, whose name was Saburrus, asked for twenty thousand soldiers from his sovereign, and pledged himself to fight against Romuald, and win the victory. And when he had received the troops and had come to a place whose name is Forinus (Forino)[2] and had set up his camp there, Grimuald, who had already come to Beneventum, when he heard these things, wanted to set out against him. His son Romuald said to him: "There is no need, but do you turn over to me only a part of your army. With God's favor I will fight with him, and when I shall have conquered him a greater glory, indeed, will be ascribed of your power." It was done, and when he had received some part of his father's army, he set out with his own men likewise against Saburrus. Before he began the

[1] The Calore flows a little east of Benevento. Camillus Peregrinius believes that the river Sabatus (Sabato) is intended, which flows close to Beneventum, and near which Peter the Deacon recognizes this place called Pugna (Waitz).

[2] Between Avellino and Nocera (Waitz), about twenty-five miles east of Naples.

battle with him he ordered the trumpets to sound on four sides, and immediately he rushed daringly upon them. And while both lines were fighting with great obstinacy, a man from the king's army named Amalong, who had been accustomed to carry the royal pike, taking this pike in both hands struck violently with it a certain little Greek and lifted him from the saddle on which he was riding and raised him in the air over his head. When the army of the Greeks saw this, it was terrified by boundless fear and at once betook itself to flight, and overwhelmed with the utmost disaster, in fleeing it brought death upon itself and victory to Romuald and the Langobards. Thus Saburrus, who had promised that he would achieve for his emperor a trophy of victory from the Langobards, returned to him with a few men only and came off with disgrace; but Romuald, when the victory was obtained from the enemy, returned in triumph to Beneventum and brought joy to his father and safety to all, now that the fear of the enemy was taken away.

Chapter XI.

But the emperor Constans, when he found that he could accomplish nothing against the Langobards, directed all the threats of his cruelty against his own followers, that is, the Romans. He left Naples and proceeded to Rome.[1] At the sixth mile-stone from the city, pope Vitalian came to meet him with his priests

[1] July 5, 663. No emperor had visited Rome for nearly two centuries (Hodgkin VI, 276).

and the Roman people.[1] And when the emperor had come to the threshold of St. Peter he offered there a pallium woven with gold; and remaining at Rome twelve days he pulled down everything that in ancient times had been made of metal for the ornament of the city, to such an extent that he even stripped off the roof of the church of the blessed Mary which at one time was called the Pantheon, and had been founded in honor of all the gods and was now by the consent of the former rulers the place of all the martyrs; and he took away from there the bronze tiles and sent them with all the other ornaments to Constantinople. Then the emperor returned to Naples, and proceeded by the land route to the city of Regium (Reggio); and having entered Sicily[2] during the seventh indiction[3] he dwelt in Syracuse and put such afflictions upon the people—the inhabitants and land owners of Calabria, Sicily, Africa, and Sardinia—as were never heard of before, so that even wives were separated from their husbands and children from their parents.[4] The people of these regions also endured many other and unheard of things so that the hope of life did not remain to any one. For even the sacred vessels and the treasures of the holy churches of

[1] The relations between the emperor Constans and the popes had been decidedly strained on account of the Monothelete controversy (see note to Chap. 6, *supra*).

[2] His purpose was to use Sicily as a base of operations against the Saracens in Africa (Hodgkin VI, 280).

[3] Commencing September, 663.

[4] Sold into slavery to satisfy the demands of the tax gatherers (Hodgkin VI, 280).

God were carried away by the imperial command and by the avarice of the Greeks. And the emperor remained in Sicily from the seventh to the twelfth[1] indiction,[2] but at last he suffered the punishment of such great iniquities and while he was in the bath he was put to death by his own servants.[3]

Chapter XII.

When the emperor Constantine was killed at Syracuse, Mecetius (Mezezius) seized the sovereignty in Sicily, but without the consent of the army of the East.[4] The soldiers of Italy, others throughout Istria, others through the territories of Campania and others from the regions of Africa and Sardinia came to Syracuse against him and deprived him of life. And many of his judges were brought to Constantinople beheaded and with them in like manner the head of the false emperor was also carried off.

[1] An error. This should be eleventh indiction. He was killed July 15, 668 (Hodgkin VI, 281, note 2).

[2] In Sicily he decreed the independence of the bishopric of Ravenna from that of Rome, thus attempting to create two heads of the church in Italy, a severe blow to the papacy (Hartmann II, 1, 250, 251), a measure which, however, was revoked after his death.

[3] His valet Andreas struck him with a soap box (Hodgkin VI, 281).

[4] Paul seems to have misunderstood the Liber Pontificalis (Adeodatus) from which he took this passage, which reads: "Mezezius who was in Sicily with the army of the East, rebelled and seized the sovereignty."

Chapter XIII.

The nation of the Saracens that had already spread through Alexandria and Egypt, hearing these things, came suddenly with many ships, invaded Sicily, entered Syracuse and made a great slaughter of the people—a few only escaping with difficulty who had fled to the strongest fortresses and the mountain ranges—and they carried off also great booty and all that art work in brass and different materials which the emperor Constantine had taken away from Rome; and thus they returned to Alexandria.

Chapter XIV.

Moreover the daughter of the king, who we said had been carried away from Beneventum as a hostage[1] came to Sicily and ended her last days.

Chapter XV.

At this time there were such great rain storms and such thunders as no man had remembered before, so that countless thousands of men and animals were killed by strokes of lightning. In this year the pulse which could not be gathered on account of the rains grew again and was brought to maturity.[2]

Chapter XVI.

But king Grimuald indeed, when the Beneventines and their provinces had been delivered from the Greeks,

[1] See Chapter 8 *supra*.

[2] These events are placed by the Liber Pontificalis in the year of the death of Pope Adeodatus (672) (Jacobi, 54, 55).

determined to return to his palace at Ticinum, and to Transamund, who had formerly been count of Capua and had served him most actively in acquiring the kingdom, he gave his daughter, another sister of Romuald in marriage, and made him duke of Spoletium (Spoleto) after Atto of whom we have spoken above.[1] Then he returned to Ticinum.

Chapter XVII.

When indeed Grasulf, duke of the Friulans died, as we mentioned before, Ago was appointed his successor in the dukedom;[2] and from his name a certain house situated within Forum Julii (Cividale) is called Ago's House up to this day. When this Ago had died, Lupus was made commander of the Friulans.[3] This Lupus entered into the island of Gradus (Grado) which is not far from Aquileia, with an army of horsemen over a stone highway which had been made in old times through the sea, and having plundered that city, he removed from thence and carried back the treasures of the church of Aquileia. When Grimuald set out for Beneventum, he intrusted his palace to Lupus.

Chapter XVIII.

Since this Lupus had acted very insolently at Ticinum

[1] IV, 50 *supra*.

[2] The date is uncertain. De Rubeis says 661, Hodgkin thinks about 645 (VI, 285).

[3] A. D. 663 according to De Rubeis, about 660 according to Hodgkin (VI, 285).

in the king's absence,[1] because he did not think he would return, when the king did come back, Lupus, knowing that the things he had not done rightly were displeasing to him, repaired to Forum Julii and, conscious of his own wickedness, rebelled against this king.

Chapter XIX.

Then Grimuald, unwilling to stir up civil war among the Langobards, sent word to the Cagan, king of the Avars, to come into Forum Julii with his army against duke Lupus and defeat him in war. And this was done. For the Cagan came with a great army, and in the place which is called Flovius,[2] as the older men who were in that war have related to us, during three days duke Lupus with the Friulans fought against the Cagan's army. On the first day indeed he defeated that strong army, very few of his own men being wounded; on the second day he killed in like manner many of the Avars, but a number of his own were now wounded and dead; on the third day very many of his own were wounded or killed, nevertheless he destroyed a great army of the Cagan and took abundant booty; but on the fourth day they saw so great a multitude coming upon them that they could scarcely escape by flight.

[1] That is when he went to the relief of Romuald who was besieged at Benevento by Constans.

[2] *Fluvius Frigidus* in the valley of Wippach in the province of Krain (Waitz)—"Cold River below the pass of the Pear Tree," southeast of Cividale (Hodgkin, VI, 286, note 1).

CHAPTER XX.

When duke Lupus then had been killed there, the rest who had remained (alive) fortified themselves in strongholds. But the Avars, scouring all their territories, plundered or destroyed everything by fire. When they had done this for some days, word was sent them by Grimuald that they should now rest from their devastation. But they sent envoys to Grimuald saying that they would by no means give up Forum Julii, which they had conquered by their own arms.

CHAPTER XXI.

Then Grimuald, compelled by necessity, began to collect an army that he might drive the Avars out of his territories. He set up therefore in the midst of the plain his camp and the place where he lodged the Avar (ambassadors), and since he had only a slender fragment of his army, he caused those he had to pass frequently during several days before the eyes of the envoys in different dress and furnished with various kinds of arms, as if a new army was constantly advancing. The ambassadors of the Avars indeed, when they saw this same army pass by, first in one way and then in another, believed that the multitude of the Langobards was immense. And Grimuald thus spoke to them: "With all this multitude of an army which you have seen I will straightway fall upon the Cagan and the Avars unless they shall quickly depart from the territories of the Friulans." When the envoys of the Avars had seen and heard these things, and had re-

peated them to their king, he presently returned with all his army to his own kingdom.

Chapter XXII.

Finally, after Lupus was killed in this way, as we have related, Arnefrit, his son, sought to obtain the dukedom at Forum Julii in the place of his father. But fearing the power of king Grimuald, he fled into Carnuntum, which they corruptly call Carantanum (Carinthia)[1] to the nation of the Slavs,[2] and afterwards coming with the Slavs as if about to resume the dukedom by their means, he was killed when the Friulans attacked him at the fortress of Nemae (Nimis), which is not far distant from Forum Julii.[3]

Chapter XXIII.

Afterwards Wechtari was appointed duke at Forum Julii. He was born at the city of Vincentia (Vicenza), was a kind man, and one who ruled his people mildly. When the nation of the Slavs had heard that he had set out for Ticinum, they collected a strong multitude and determined to attack the fortress of Forum Julii, and they came and laid out their camp in the place which is called Broxas,[4] not far from Forum Julii. But it hap-

[1] The name given by Paul (Carnuntum), the modern Presburg, is incorrect, Carantanum was the proper name for Carinthia (Hodgkin, VI, 288, note 1).

[2] These Slavs belonged to the Slovene branch of the Slav race (Hodgkin VI, 288).

[3] About 15 miles northwest of Cividale (Hodgkin, VI, 288).

[4] Bethmann believes that a certain stronghold, Purgessimus, is

pened according to the Divine will that the evening before, duke Wechtari came back from Ticinum without the knowledge of the Slavs. While his companions, as is wont to happen, had gone home, he himself, hearing these tidings concerning the Slavs, advanced with a few men, that is, twenty-five, against them. When the Slavs saw him coming with so few they laughed, saying that the patriarch was advancing against them with his clergy. When he had come near the bridge of the river Natisio (Natisone),[1] which was where the Slavs were staying, he took his helmet from his head and showed his face to them. He was bald-headed, and when the Slavs recognized him that he was Wechtari, they were immediately alarmed and cried out that Wechtari was there, and terrified by God they thought more of flight than of battle. Then Wechtari, rushing upon them with the few men he had, overthrew them with such great slaughter that out of five thousand men a few only remained, who escaped with difficulty.[2]

meant, near the bridge hereafter referred to; others say Prosascus, at the source of the Natisone; others, Borgo Bressana, a suburb of Cividale (Waitz). Musoni (Atti del Congresso in Cividale, 1899, pp. 187, 188) considers all these conjectures inadmissible, and shows that it was at the place now called Erischis, near that city.

[1] Waitz says the bridge of San Pietro dei Schiavi. Musoni (Atti, etc., p. 191), believes it was probably the present bridge of San Quirino.

[2] It is evident that this account, which is no doubt based upon oral tradition and perhaps has some historical basis, has been greatly exaggerated, if indeed there is not a mistake in the figures, as Muratori suggests, The allusion to the patriarch also appears to contain an anachronism, since it was in 737, after these events,

Chapter XXIV.

After this Wechtari, Landari held the dukedom at Forum Julii, and when he died Rodoald succeeded him in the dukedom.

Chapter XXV.

When then, as we have said, duke Lupus had died, king Grimuald gave Lupus' daughter Theuderada to his own son Romuald, who was governing Beneventum.[1] From her he begot three sons, that is, Grimuald, Gisulf, and also Arichis.

Chapter XXVI.

Also king Grimuald avenged his injuries (received) from all those who deserted him when he had set out for Beneventum.

Chapter XXVII.

But he also destroyed in the following manner Forum Populi (Forlimpopoli), a city of the Romans,[2] whose citizens had inflicted certain injuries upon him when he

that the patriarch Calixtus removed his see to Cividale. Communities of Slavs still inhabit a portion of Friuli; they are divided, according to their linguistic peculiarities, into four principal groups, and probably came into this district at different times. (Musoni, Atti del Congresso in Cividale, 1899, pp. 187, 193.)

[1] Theuderada emulated Theudelinda in piety, and established the duchy of Benevento in the Catholic faith (Hodgkin, VI, 297, 298).

[2] On the Æmilian way, twenty miles south of Ravenna (Hodgkin, VI, 290).

set out for Beneventum and had often annoyed his couriers going from Beneventum and returning. Having left Tuscany[1] through Bardo's Alp[2] (Bardi) at the time of Lent without any knowledge of the Romans, he rushed unexpectedly upon that city on the holy Sabbath of Easter itself[3] in the hour when the baptism was occurring and made so great a carnage of men slain that he killed in the sacred font itself even those deacons who were baptizing little infants. And he so overthrew that city that very few inhabitants remain in it up to the present time.

Chapter XXVIII.

Grimuald had indeed no ordinary hatred against the Romans, since they had once treacherously betrayed his brothers Taso and Cacco.[4] Wherefore he destroyed to its foundations the city of Opitergium (Oderzo) where they were killed, and divided the territories of those who had dwelt there among the people of Forum Julii (Cividale), Tarvisium (Treviso) and Ceneta (Ceneda).

[1] Read *e Tuscia egressus* in place of *Tusciam ingressus* (Hodgkin VI, 290, note 3).

[2] A pass of the Apennines near Parma. There is evidently some mistake, either in the text or else by Paul, as the two places are far apart (Hodgkin, VI, 290, note 3). Otto von Freising says that the whole Apennine range was so called (Abel).

[3] *Sabbato paschali.* Abel translates Easter Saturday, Hodgkin (VI, 290) Easter Sunday, which seems more probable from the context.

[4] IV, 38, *supra.*

Chapter XXIX.

During these times a duke of the Bulgarians, Alzeco by name, left his own people, from what cause is unknown, and peacefully entering Italy with the whole army of his dukedom, came to king Grimuald, promising to serve him and to dwell in his country. And the king directing him to Beneventum to his son Romuald, ordered that the latter should assign to him and his people places to dwell in.[1] Duke Romuald, receiving them graciously, accorded to them extensive tracts to settle which had been deserted up to that time, namely, Sepinum (Sepino), Bovianum (Bojano), Isernia[2] and other cities with their territories and directed that Alzeco himself, the name of his title being changed, should be called gastaldius[3] instead of duke. And they dwell up to the present time in these places, as we have said, and although they also speak Latin, they have not at all forsaken the use of their own language.

Chapter XXX.

When the emperor Constans, as we said,[4] had been killed in Sicily and the tyrant Mezetius who had succeeded him had been punished, Constantine, the son of the emperor Constantius, undertook the government of the empire of the Romans and reigned over the Romans

[1] Theophanes (Historia Miscella) relates the story differently (Waitz).

[2] Places in the highlands of Samnium (Hodgkin VI, 284).

[3] See note II, 32, *supra*, pp. 88–91.

[4] Ch. 12, *supra*.

seventeen years. In the times of Constans indeed the archbishop Theodore and the abbot Adrian, also a very learned man, were sent by pope Vitalian into Britain and made very many churches of the Angles productive of the fruit of ecclasiastical doctrine. Of these men archbishop Theodore has described, with wonderful and discerning reflection, the sentences for sinners, namely, for how many years one ought to do penance for each sin.[1]

Chapter XXXI.

Afterwards, in the month of August, a comet appeared in the east with very brilliant rays, which again turned back upon itself and disappeared. And without delay a heavy pestilence followed from the same eastern quarter and destroyed the Roman people. In these days Domnus (Donus), Pope of the Roman Church, covered with large white blocks of marble in a wonderful manner the place which is called Paradise in front of the church of the blessed apostle Peter.

Chapter XXXII.

At this time Dagipert governed the kingdom of the Franks in Gaul and with him king Grimuald entered into a treaty of lasting peace.[2] Perctarit also, who had settled in the country of the Franks, fearing the power

[1] The book is entitled *Poenitentiale* (Giansevero).

[2] This appears to be doubtful, as Dagipert II, to whom it refers, came to the throne in 674, after Grimuald's death (Jacobi, 42). Hartmann believes that the treaty was made, though not with Dagipert (II, 1, 277). Clothar III or Childeric are suggested (Waitz).

of this Grimuald, departed from Gaul and determined to hasten to the island of Britain and the king of the Saxons.

Chapter XXXIII.

But Grimuald indeed having remained in the palace on the ninth day after the use of the lancet, took his bow and when he attempted to hit a dove with an arrow, the vein of his arm was ruptured. The doctors, as they say, administered poisoned medicines and totally withdrew him from this life. He added in the edict which king Rothari had composed certain chapters of law which seemed useful to him.[1] He was moreover very strong in body, foremost in boldness, with a bald head and a heavy beard and was adorned with wisdom no less than with strength. And his body was buried in the church of the blessed Ambrose the Confessor, which he had formerly built in the city of Ticinum. Upon the expiration of one year and three months after the death of king Aripert, he usurped the kingdom of the Langobards, reigned nine years and left as king Garibald his son, still of boyish age whom the daughter of king Aripert had borne him.[2] Then, as we had begun to say, Perctarit having departed from Gaul, embarked in

[1] In these chapters he discouraged the wager of battle and made strict provisions against bigamy, a crime which seems to have been increasing. He also incorporated the Roman principle in the succession of property, that when a father died the children should represent and take his share. His edict was issued A. D. 668 (Hodgkin, VI, 291, 292).

[2] His elder son Romuald seems to have kept the duchy of Benevento.

a ship to pass over to the island of Britain to the kingdom of the Saxons. And when he had already sailed a little way through the sea, a voice was heard from the shore of one inquiring whether Perctarit was in that ship. And when the answer was given him that Perctarit was there, he who called out added: "Say to him he may return to his country since to-day is the third day that Grimuald has been withdrawn from this life." When he heard this, Perctarit straightway turned back again and coming to the shore could not find the person who informed him of the death of Grimuald, from which he thought that this was not a man but a Divine messenger. And then directing his course to his own country, when he had come to the confines of Italy he found already there awaiting him all the retinue of the palace, and all the royal officials in readiness together with a great multitude of the Langobards. And thus when he returned to Ticinum, and the little boy Garibald had been driven away from the kingdom, he was raised to the kingly power by all the Langobards, the third month after the death of Grimuald.[1] He was moreover a pious man, a Catholic in belief,[2] tenacious of justice and a very bountiful supporter of the poor. And he straightway sent to Beneventum and called back from thence his wife Rodelinda and his son Cunincpert.

[1] A. D. 671 (Hartmann, II, 1, 255).

[2] So much a Catholic that he caused the Jews in the kingdom to be baptized, and ordered all who refused to be slain (Song of the Synod of Pavia; see Hodgkin, VI, 303). Grimuald's aggressive policy against the Romans was now abandoned.

Chapter XXXIV.

And as soon as he had taken upon himself the rights of sovereignty, he built in that place which is on the side of the river Ticinus (Ticino) whence he himself had previously escaped, a convent called the New one, to his Lord and Deliverer in honor of the Holy Virgin and Martyr Agatha.[1] In it he gathered together many virgins, and he also endowed this place with possessions and ornaments of many kinds. His queen Rodelinda indeed built with wonderful workmanship outside the walls of this city of Ticinum a church of the Holy Mother of God which is called "At the Poles," and adorned it with marvelous decorations. This place moreover was called "At the Poles" because formerly poles, that is beams, had stood there upright which were wont to be planted according to the custom of the Langobards for the following reason: if any one were killed in any place either in war or in any other way, his relatives fixed a pole within their burial ground upon the top of which they placed a dove made of wood that was turned in that direction where their beloved had expired so that it might be known in what place he who had died was sleeping.

Chapter XXXV.

Then Perctarit, when he had ruled alone for seven years, now in the eighth year took his son Cuninepert

[1] It is said his escape occurred in the night before the festival of St. Agatha (Waitz).

as his consort in the government and with him he reigned in like manner for ten years.[1]

Chapter XXXVI.

And while they were living in great peace and had tranquility around them on every side, there arose against them a son of iniquity, Alahis by name, by whom the peace was disturbed in the kingdom of the Langobards, and a great slaughter was made of the people. This man, when he was duke of the city of Tridentum (Trent), fought with the count of the Bavarians that they call "gravio"[2] who governed Bauzanum (Botzen) and other strongholds, and defeated him in an astonishing manner. Elated from this cause, he also lifted his hand against Perctarit his king, and rebelling, fortified himself within the stronghold of Tridentum. King Perctarit advanced against him and while he besieged him from the outside, suddenly Alahis rushed unexpectedly out of the city with his followers, overthrew the king's camp and compelled the king himself to seek flight. He afterwards however returned to the favor of king Perctarit through the agency of Cunincpert, the king's son, who loved him now for a long time. For when the king had at different times wanted to put him to death, his son Cunincpert always prevented this being done, thinking that he would thereafter be faithful, nor did he refrain from getting his

[1] This seems to be a mistake. The period was something more than eight years (Hodgkin, VI, 304).

[2] Or *grafio*, the German *Graf*.

father also to bestow upon Alahis the dukedom of Brexia (Brescia), although the father often protested that Cunincpert did this to his own ruin, since he offered his enemy the means of obtaining the kingly power. The city of Brexia indeed had always a great multitude of noble Langobards and Perctarit feared that by their aid Alahis would become too powerful. In these days king Perctarit built with wonderful workmanship in the city of Ticinum, a gate adjoining the palace which was also called the "Palace Gate."

Chapter XXXVII.

When he had held the sovereignty eighteen years,[1] first alone and afterwards with his son, he was withdrawn from this life and his body was buried hard by the church of our Lord the Saviour which Aripert his father had built. He was of becoming stature, of a corpulent body, mild and gentle in all things. But king Cunincpert indeed took to wife Hermelinda, of the race of the Anglo-Saxons.[2] She had seen in the bath Theodote, a girl sprung from a very noble stock of Romans, of graceful body and adorned with flaxen hair almost to the feet, and she praised the girl's beauty to king Cunincpert, her husband. And although he concealed from his wife that he had heard this with pleasure, he

[1] But see chapter 35, *supra* and note.

[2] Egbert, king of Kent from 664 to 673, had a sister Eormengild and an uncle Eormenred, whose daughters' names all begin with "Eormen." Eormenlind or Hermelinda probably came from one of these families (Hodgkin, VI, 305, note 3).

was inflamed, nevertheless, with great love for the girl, and without delay he set forth to hunt in the wood they call "The City," and directed his wife Hermelinda to come with him. And he stole out from there by night and came to Ticinum, and making the girl Theodote come to him he lay with her. Yet he sent her afterwards into a monastery in Ticinum which was called by her name.

Chapter XXXVIII.

Alahis indeed gave birth to the iniquity he had long since conceived, and with the help of Aldo and Grauso, citizens of Brexia, as well as many others of the Langobards, forgetful of so many favors that king Cunincpert had conferred upon him, forgetting also the oath by which he had engaged to be most faithful to him, he took possession, while Cunincpert was absent, of his kingly power and of the palace that stood at Ticinum. Cunincpert, hearing this at the place where he was, straightway fled to an island which is in Lake Larius (Como), not far from Comum (Como), and there fortified himself strongly.

But there was great grief among all who loved him and especially among the priests and clergy, all of whom Alahis held in hatred. There was indeed at that time a bishop of the church of Ticinum, Damianus, a man of God, distinguished for sanctity and well instructed in the liberal arts. When he saw that Alahis had taken possession of the palace, in order that neither he nor his church should suffer harm from him, he dispatched to him his deacon Thomas, a wise and religious man and

sent by him to this same Alahis the blessing[1] of his holy church. It was announced to Alahis that Thomas the deacon stood before the door and had brought the benediction from the bishop. Then Alahis, who as we said, held all churchmen in hatred, thus spoke to his servants: "Go, say to him if he has clean breeches he may come in but if otherwise let him keep his foot outside." Thomas, indeed, when he had heard these expressions thus answered: "Say to him that I have clean breeches, since I put them on washed to-day." Alahis sent word to him again as follows: "I do not speak of the breeches but of the things that are inside the breeches." To these things Thomas thus made answer: "Go, say to him God only can find blame in me for these causes, but that man can by no means do so." And when Alahis had made this deacon come in to him he spoke with him very bitterly and with reproaching. Then fear and hatred of the tyrant took possession of all the churchmen and priests, since they deemed they could not at all bear his rudeness; and they began to wish for Cuninepert so much the more as they had in execration the haughty usurper of the kingdom. But not very long did rudeness and rough brutality keep the sovereignty they had usurped.

Chapter XXXIX.

In fine, on a certain day when he was counting solidi upon a table, one tremisses[2] fell from that table, which

[1] *Benedictio*, perhaps "the bread of the Eucharist" the "blessed bread" (Waitz). See DuCange *Benedictiones*, *Eulogia*.

[2] A coin, the third part of a solidus, and worth, says Hodgkin,

the son of Aldo, who was yet a little boy, picked from the floor and gave back to this Alahis. Thinking that the boy understood but little, Alahis spoke to him as follows: "Your father has many of these which he is soon going to give me if God shall so will." When this boy had returned to his father in the evening, his father asked him if the king had said anything to him that day, and he reported to his father all the things as they had happened and what the king had said to him. When Aldo heard these things he was greatly concerned; and

(VI, 308), about four shillings. Soetbeer (Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte, II, pp. 374 to 383) gives an account of the coins used by the Langobards. The mode of computation was the same as in the Greek jurisdiction of Ravenna (p. 374). The tremisses, not the whole solidus, was the common coin and those coined at Lucca after the time of the Ostrogothic kingdom (both before that city fell under the Langobards and afterwards down to 797), were an important medium of circulation. The average weight of the oldest of these coins was 1.38 grammes—corresponding with the Byzantine coins of the same period, while the coins of Lucca varied much in the fineness of the gold, from 23 carats, the Byzantine standard, down to 15—the average being perhaps 17 or 18 (pp. 375, 376, 380). After the subjection of Lucca (about the year 640) and before the names of the last Langobard kings, Aistulf and Desiderius were placed upon the coins, that is during the period described in the text, the average weight was 1.33 grammes, while the fineness of the gold was very slightly reduced. Under Aistulf and Desiderius the average weight was 1.12 grammes. It is not possible to say which Langobard king first began to coin money. Rothari in his Edict made provision for the punishment of false coinage, but the first king whose monogram appears upon a tremisses is Grimuald (Hartmann, II, 2, 33), and the first king's portrait is that of Cuninepert. The duchy of Benevento had also a special coinage of its own (id).

joining his brother Grauso he reported to him all the things the king had ill-naturedly said. And they presently took counsel with their friends and with those they could trust, in what way they might deprive the tyrant Alahis of his sovereignty before he could do them any injury. And later they set out to the palace and spoke to Alahis as follows: "Why do you deign to stay in town? See! all the city and the whole people are faithful to you, and that drunken Cunincpert is so broken up that he cannot now have any further resources. Depart and go to the hunt and exercise yourself with your young men, and we, with the rest of your faithful subjects, will defend this city for you. But we also promise you that we will soon bring you the head of your enemy, Cunincpert." And he was persuaded by their words and departed from the city and set out for the very extensive City forest, and there began to exercise himself with sports and huntings. Aldo and Grauso, however, went to Lake Comacinus (Como), embarked in a boat and proceeded to Cunincpert. When they came to him they threw themselves at his feet, acknowledged that they had acted unjustly against him and reported to him what Alahis had knavishly spoken against them and what counsel they had given him to his ruin. Why say more? They shed tears together and gave oaths to each other fixing the day when Cunincpert should come that they might deliver to him the city of Ticinum. And this was done, for on the appointed day Cunincpert came to Ticinum, was received by them most willingly and entered his palace. Then all the citizens, and especially the bishop and the

priests also and the clergy, young men and old, ran to him eagerly and all embraced him with tears, and filled with boundless joy, shouted their thanks to God for his return; and he kissed them all as far as he could. Suddenly there came to Alahis one who announced that Aldo and Grauso had fulfilled all they had promised him and had brought him the head of Cunincpert, and not only his head, but also his whole body, for the man declared that he was staying in the palace. When Alahis heard this he was overwhelmed with dismay, and raging and gnashing his teeth, he threatened many things against Aldo and Grauso, and departed thence and returned through Placentia (Piacenza) to Austria[1] and joined to himself as allies the various cities, partly by flatteries, partly by force. For when he came to Vincentia (Vicenza) the citizens went forth against him and made ready for war, but presently they were conquered and were made his allies. Going forth from thence he entered Tarvisium (Treviso), and in like manner also the remaining cities. And when Cunincpert collected an army against him, and the people of Forum Julii (Cividale),[2] on account of their fidelity,

[1] This name was used to designate the eastern part of the Langobard kingdom, and was often mentioned in the laws of king Liutprand (Waitz). Its western boundary was the Adda, and the land west of that stream was called Neustria, which, with a third division, Tuscia, constituted the main kingdom immediately subject to the king, as distinguished from the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento.

[2] It will be noticed here that the people of Forum Julii and not the duke is mentioned. This is one of the signs of the gradual

wished to march to Cuninepert's assistance, Alahis himself lay hid in the wood which is called Capulanus by the bridge of the river Liquentia (Livenza), which is distant forty-eight miles from Forum Julii and is in the way of those going to Ticinum, and when the army of the people of Forum Julii came, a few at a time, he compelled them all as they arrived to swear allegiance to him, diligently watching lest anyone of them should turn back and report this thing to the others who were approaching; and thus all those coming from Forum Julii were bound to him by oath. Why say more? Alahis with the whole of Austria, and on the other hand Cuninepert with his followers came and set up their camps in the field whose name is Coronate (Kornate).[1]

Chapter XL.

Cuninepert dispatched a messenger to him, sending him word that he would engage with him in single combat; that there was no need of using up the army of either. To these words Alahis did not at all agree. When one of his followers, a Tuscan by race, calling him a warlike and brave man, advised him to go forth boldly against Cuninepert, Alahis replied to these words: "Cuninepert, although he is a drunkard and of a stupid heart, is nevertheless quite bold and of wonderful strength. For in his father's time when we were boys there were in the palace wethers of great size which he

decrease in the power of the dukes in the northern portions of the Langobard kingdom. (See note 3, Bk. II, Ch. 32 *supra*.)

[1] By the Adda, about ten miles southwest of Bergamo (Hodgkin, VI, 311).

seized by the wool of the back and lifted from the ground with outstretched arm, which, indeed, I was not able to do." That Tuscan hearing these things said to him: "If you do not dare to go into a fight with Cunincpert in single combat you will not have me any longer as a companion in your support." And saying this he broke away and straightway betook himself to Cunincpert and reported these things to him. Then, as we said, both lines came together in the field of Coronate. And when they were already near, so that they were bound to join in battle, Seno, a deacon of the church of Ticinum, who was the guardian of the church of St. John the Baptist (which was situated within that city and which queen Gundiperga had formerly built), since he loved the king very much, and feared lest his sovereign should perish in war, said to the king: "My lord king, our whole life lies in your welfare. If you perish in battle that tyrant Alahis will destroy us by various punishments; therefore may my counsel please you. Give me a suit of your armor and I will go and fight with that tyrant. If I shall die, you may still re-establish your cause, but if I shall win, a greater glory will be ascribed to you, because you will have conquered by your servant." And when the king refused to do this, his few faithful ones who were present began to beg him with tears that he would give his consent to those things the deacon had said. Overcome at last, since he was of a tender heart, by their prayers and tears, he handed his cuirass and his helmet, and his greaves and his other arms to the deacon, and dispatched him to the battle to play the part of the king. For this deacon

was of the same stature and bearing, so that when he had gone armed out of the tent he was taken for king Cunincpert by all. The battle then was joined and they struggled with all their might. And when Alahis pressed the harder there where he thought the king was, he killed Seno the deacon, and imagined that Cunincpert had been slain. And when he had ordered his head cut off so that after it was lifted upon a pike they should cry out "Thanks to God," when the helmet was removed, he learned that he had killed a churchman. Then crying out in his rage he said: "Woe is me! We have done nothing when we have brought the battle to this point that we have killed a churchman! Therefore, I now make this kind of a vow that if God shall give me the victory I will fill a whole well with the members of churchmen."

Chapter XLI.

Then Cunincpert, seeing that his men had lost, straightway showed himself to them, and taking away their fear, strengthened their hearts to hope for victory. Again the lines of battle formed and on the one side Cunincpert, and on the other, Alahis made ready for the struggles of war. And when they were already near so that both lines were joining to fight, Cunincpert again sent a message to Alahis in these words: "See how many people there are on both sides! What need is there that so great a multitude perish? Let us join, he and I, in single combat and may that one of us to whom God may have willed to give the victory have and possess all this people safe and entire." And when his

followers exhorted Alahis to do what Cunincpert enjoined him he answered: "I cannot do this because among his spears I see the image of the holy archangel Michael[1] by whom I swore allegiance to him." Then one of them said: "From fear you see what is not, and anyhow, it is now late for you to think of these things." Then when the trumpets sounded, the lines of battle joined, and as neither side gave way, a very great slaughter was made of the people. At length the cruel tyrant Alahis perished, and Cunincpert with the help of the Lord obtained the victory. The army of Alahis too, when his death was known, took the protection of flight. And of these whomsoever the point of the sword did not cut down the river Addua (Adda) destroyed. Also the head of Alahis was cut off and his legs were cut away and only his deformed and mangled corpse remained. The army of the people of Forum Julii was not in this war at all because, since it had unwillingly sworn allegiance to Alahis, for this reason it gave assistance neither to king Cunincpert nor to Alahis, but returned home when the two engaged in war. Then Alahis having died in this manner, king Cunincpert commanded that the body of Seno the deacon should be buried in great splendor before the gates of the church of St. John which the deacon had governed. The reigning sovereign himself indeed returned to Ticinum with the rejoicing of all and in the triumph of victory.

[1] The patron saint of the Langobards (Hartmann, II, 2, 25; Waitz).

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

While these things were occurring among the Langobards across the Po, Romuald, duke of the Beneventines after he had collected a great multitude of an army, attacked and captured Tarentum (Taranto) and in like manner Brundisium (Brindisi) and subjugated to his dominion all that very extensive region which surrounds them.[1] His wife Theuderata, too, built at the same time, a church in honor of the blessed apostle Peter outside the walls of the city of Beneventum and in that place she established a convent of many nuns.

CHAPTER II.

Romuald, too, after he had governed the dukedom sixteen years was withdrawn from this life. After him his son Grimuald ruled the people of the Samnites[2] three years. Wigilinda, a sister of Cuninepert and daughter of king Perctarit was united to him in marriage. When Grimuald also died, Gisulf his brother was made duke[3] and ruled over Beneventum seventeen years.

[1] This probably refers to the "heel of Italy," the land around Otranto, which now passed under the Langobard sway (Hodgkin, VI, 335).

[2] Thus were the Beneventines called (IV, 44, 46, *supra*).

[3] His mother Theuderata governed the dukedom during his minority (Waitz).

Winiperga was married to him and bore him Romuald. About these times, when a great solitude existed for a number of years past in the stronghold of Cassinum (Monte Cassino) where the holy body of the most blessed Benedict reposes, there came Franks from the regions of the Celmanici (Cenomannici)[1] and of the Aurelianenses,[2] and while they pretended to keep a vigil by the venerable body they bore away the bones of the reverend father and also of the revered Scolastica his sister, and carried them to their own country where two monasteries were built, one in honor of each, that is, of the blessed Benedict and of St. Scolastica. But it is certain that that venerable mouth, sweeter than all nectar, and the eyes beholding ever heavenly things, and the other members too have remained to us, although decayed.[3] For only the body of our Lord alone did not see corruption; but the bodies of all the saints have been subjected to corruption, to be restored afterwards to eternal glory, with the exception of those which by divine miracles are kept without blemish.

Chapter III.

But when Rodoald indeed, who as we said before,[4] held the dukedom at Forum Julii, was absent from that

[1] Inhabitants of Le Mans.

[2] Inhabitants of Orleans.

[3] A long controversy between the French and Italian Benedictine monks has arisen from this passage, as to the genuineness of the relics of St. Benedict (Waitz).

[4] V, 24 *supra.*

city, Ansfrit from the fortress of Reunia (Ragogna)[1] swept through his dukedom without the consent of the king. Rodoald, when he learned this, fled into Istria and thence came by ship through Ravenna to Ticinum to king Cuninepert. Ansfrit indeed, not content to rule the dukedom of the Friulans, but rebelling against Cuninepert besides, attempted to usurp his sovereignty. But he was seized in Verona and brought to the king, his eyes were torn out and he was cast into banishment. After these things Ado, the brother of Rodoald, governed the Friulan dukedom a year and seven months under the name of caretaker.[2]

Chapter IV.

While these things occurred in Italy, a heresy arose at Constantinople which asserted that there was one will and mode of action in our Lord Jesus Christ. Georgius the patriarch of Constantinople, Macharius, Pyrrus, Paul and Peter stirred up this heresy. Wherefore the em-

[1] About thirty miles west of Cividale (Hodgkin, VI, 328, note 1).

[2] *Loci servator.* The only instance of this title during the Langobard period. Later it frequently occurs (Pabst, 460, note). There is no date for these events except that they occurred under Cuninepert, 688–700 (Hodgkin, VI, 328, note 3). By these occurrences the dukedom of Friuli, which had been semi-independent, seems to have been placed directly under the power of the king (Hartmann, II, 1, 267).

[3] This is a mistake. Georgius was used by the emperor as an instrument of reconciliation (Hartmann, II, 1, 259). It was the former patriarchs, Sergius, Pyrrus, Paul and Peter, who stirred up the heresy, and Macharius, bishop of Antioch, supported it (p. 260).

peror Constantine[1] caused to be assembled a hundred and fifty bishops[2] among whom were also the legates of the holy Roman Church sent by Pope Agatho—John the Deacon and John the bishop of Portus (Porto)[3]—and they all condemned this heresy.[4] At that hour so many spider webs fell in the midst of the people that they were all astonished, and by this it was signified that the uncleanesses of heretical depravity were driven away. And Georgius the patriarch indeed was rebuked,[5] the

[1] See V, 30, *supra*. He was also called Pogonatus.

[2] Paul erroneously places the time of this general council (A. D. 680) in the reign of Cuninepert, which began 688 (Jacobi, 56).

[3] At the mouth of the Tiber.

[4] We have seen (V, 6, note, *supra*) that the so-called Monothelete heresy had succeeded the controversy regarding the Three Chapters. Four successive patriarchs of Constantinople had approved the Monothelete doctrine, but the church in the west was united against it, and the emperor, desirous of a reconciliation, issued an invitation to the Pope to send deputies to a council. Pope Agatho accordingly dispatched three legates and three bishops to a conference at Constantinople, which became the Sixth Œcumenical Council. It lasted from November, 680, to September, 681. Macharius, patriarch of Antioch, undertook to prove that the dogma of "one theandric energy" was in harmony with the decisions of the Fourth and Fifth Councils, but the genuineness of some of his quotations was denied and the relevancy of others disputed. Gregory, patriarch of Constantinople, formally announced his adhesion to the cause of the Pope, who insisted that there were two wills in Christ. The decrees of Pope Agatho and the Western Synod were ratified, Macharius was deposed and the upholders of the Monothelete heresy were condemned, including Honorius, former pope of Rome (Hodgkin, VI, 345, 346),

[5] A mistake. See note above.

others, however, who persisted in their defense were visited by the penalty of excommunication. At this time Damianus, bishop of the church of Ticinum[1] composed in the name of Mansuetus archbishop of Mediolanum (Milan) an epistle upon this question, quite useful to correct belief, which in the aforesaid synod, won no ordinary approbation. For the correct and true belief is this, that as there are in our Lord Jesus Christ two natures, that is of God and of man, so also there may be believed to be two wills or modes of action. Will you hear what there is of the Deity in him? He says, "I and my Father are one."[2] Will you hear what there is of humanity? "My Father is greater than I."[3] Behold him sleeping in the ship according to his human nature! Behold his divinity when the evangelist says: "Then he arose and rebuked the winds and the sea and there was a great calm!"[4] This Sixth General Synod was celebrated at Constantinople and recorded in the Greek language at the time of Pope Agatho, and the emperor Constantine conducted it while remaining within the enclosures of his palace.

Chapter V.

In these times during the eighth indiction (A. D. 680) the moon suffered an eclipse; also an eclipse of the sun occurred at almost the same time on the fifth

[1] At this time Damianus was only a presbyter (Waitz).

[2] John x. 30.

[3] John xiv. 28.

[4] Matt. viii. 26.

day before the Nones of May[1] about the tenth hour of the day. And presently there followed a very severe pestilence for three months, that is, in July, August and September, and so great was the multitude of those dying that even parents with their children and brothers with their sisters were placed on biers two by two and conducted to their tombs at the city of Rome. And in like manner too this pestilence also depopulated Ticinum so that all citizens fled to the mountain ranges and to other places and grass and bushes grew in the market place and throughout the streets of the city. And then it visibly appeared to many that a good and a bad angel proceeded by night through the city and as many times as, upon command of the good angel, the bad angel, who appeared to carry a hunting spear in his hand, knocked at the door of each house with the spear, so many men perished from that house on the following day. Then it was said to a certain man by revelation that the pestilence itself would not cease before an altar of St. Sebastian the martyr was placed in the church of the blessed Peter which is called "Ad Vincula." And it was done, and after the remains of St. Sebastian the martyr had been carried from the city of Rome, presently the altar was set up in the aforesaid church and the pestilence itself ceased.[2]

[1] May 2nd. Pagi says that the solar eclipse occurred in 680 and the other in 681 (Giansevero).

[2] The historians of Pavia declare that the bishop St. Damianus begged from the Roman pontiff the remains of the holy martyr and placed them in the church of St. Peter ad Vincula (Waitz).

Chapter VI.

While king Cunincpert, indeed, after these things was taking counsel in the city of Ticinum with his master of horse, which in their language is called "marpahis,"[1] in what way he might deprive Aldo and Grauso of life, suddenly in the window near which they were standing sat a fly of the largest kind which when Cunincpert attempted to strike with his knife to kill it, he only cut off its foot. While Aldo and Grauso indeed, in ignorance of the evil design, were coming to the palace, when they had drawn near the church of the holy martyr Romanus which is situated near the palace, suddenly a certain lame man with one foot cut off came in their way who said to them that Cunincpert was going to kill them if they should go on to him. When they heard this they were seized with great fear and fled behind the altar of that church. Presently it was announced to king Cunincpert that Aldo and Grauso had taken refuge in the church of the blessed martyr Romanus. Then Cunincpert began to accuse his master of horse asking why he had to betray his design. His master of horse thus answered him: "My lord king, you know that after we conferred about these things I did not go out of your presence and how could I have said this to any one?" Then the king sent to Aldo and Grauso, asking them why they had taken refuge in the holy place. And they answering said: "Because it was reported to us that our lord the king wished to kill us." Again the king sent to them, seeking to know who he was who had

[1] II, 9 *supra*.

given them the report, and he sent them word that unless they would report to him who had told them, they could not find favor with him. Then they sent word to the king as it had occurred, saying that a lame man had met them upon the way who had one foot cut off and used a wooden leg up to the knee, and that this man had been the one who told them they would be killed. Then the king understood that the fly whose foot he had cut off had been a bad spirit and that it had betrayed his secret designs. And straightway he took Aldo and Grauso on his word of honor from that church, pardoned their fault and afterwards held them as faithful subjects.

Chapter VII.

At that time Felix, the uncle of my teacher Flavian was renowned in the grammatical art. The king loved him so much that he bestowed upon him among other gifts of his bounty, a staff decorated with silver and gold.

Chapter VIII.

During the same time also lived John the bishop of the church of Bergoma (Bergamo), a man of wonderful sanctity.[1] Since he had offended king Cunincpert while they were conversing at a banquet, the king commanded to be prepared for him when he was returning to his inn a fierce and untamed horse who was accustomed to dash to the earth with a great snorting those who sat upon him. But when the bishop mounted him he was

[1] He took part in the council at Rome under Pope Agatho against the Monotheletes (Waitz).

so gentle that he carried him at an easy gait to his own house. The king, hearing this, cherished the bishop from that day with due honor and bestowed upon him in gift that very horse, which he had destined for his own riding.

Chapter IX.

At this time between Christmas and Epiphany there appeared at night in a clear sky a star near the Pleiades shaded in every way as when the moon stands behind a cloud. Afterwards in the month of February at noonday there arose a star in the west which set with a great flash in the direction of the east. Then in the month of March there was an eruption of Bebius (Vesuvius) for some days and all green things growing round about were exterminated by its dust and ashes.

Chapter X.

Then the race of Saracens, unbelieving and hateful to God, proceeded from Egypt into Africa with a great multitude, took Carthage by siege and when it was taken, cruelly laid it waste and leveled it to the ground.

Chapter XI.

Meanwhile the emperor Constantine died at Constantinople and his younger son Justinian[1] assumed the sovereignty of the Romans and held the control of it for ten years. He took Africa away from the Saracens

[1] Here Paul misunderstands Bede from whom he took the statement. Bede (A. M. 4649) speaks of "Justinian the younger, a son of Constantine." He succeeded to the throne in 685.

and made peace with them on sea and land. He sent Zacharias his protospatarius[1] and ordered that Pope Sergius should be brought to Constantinople because he was unwilling to approve and subscribe to the error of that synod which the emperor had held at Constantinople.[2] But the soldiery of Ravenna and of the neighboring parts, despising the impious orders of the emperor, drove this same Zacharias with reproaches and insults from the city of Rome.[3]

Chapter XII.

Leo seizing the imperial dignity, in opposition to this Justinian, deprived him of his kingdom, ruled the empire of the Romans three years and kept Justinian an exile in Pontus.[4]

Chapter XIII.

Tiberius in turn rebelled against this Leo and seized

[1] Captain of the imperial body guard, a high Byzantine dignity.

[2] The Quinisextan (Fifth–Sixth) council summoned by Justinian II in 691 (Hodgkin, VI, 354–356).

[3] A. D. 691 (Giansevero).

[4] The reign of Justinian II had been marked by oppressive exactions and great cruelties. After ten years' misgovernment Leontius (the Leo mentioned in the text) a nobleman of Isauria, commander of the armies of the East, who had been imprisoned by the tyrant and then released, was proclaimed emperor in 695. A mob assembled in the Hippodrome and demanded Justinian's death. Leontius spared his life, but mutilated him by slitting his nose (whence he was called *Rhinotmetus*) and banished him to Cherson on the southwest coast of the Crimea (Hodgkin, VI, 359–361).

his sovereignty and held him in prison in the same city all the time he reigned.[1]

Chapter XIV.

At this time[2] the council held at Aquileia, on account of the ignorance of their faith, hesitated to accept the Fifth General Council until, when instructed by the salutary admonitions of the blessed pope Sergius, it also with the other churches of Christ consented to approve of this. For that synod was held at Constantinople at the time of pope Vigilius under the emperor Justinian against Theodorus and all the heretics who were asserting that the blessed Mary had given birth to a man only and not to a God and a man. In this synod it was established as a Catholic doctrine that the blessed Mary ever virgin should be called Mother of God since, as the Catholic faith has it, she gave birth not to a man only, but truly to a God and a man.[3]

[1] A naval armament under the command of the patrician John had delivered Carthage from the Saracens but the latter had retaken the city and the imperial troops on their return to Constantinople broke out in a mutiny against both their general and Leontius, and a naval officer named Apsimar was proclaimed emperor. When the fleet reached Constantinople, Leontius was dethroned and Apsimar under the name of Tiberius III, reigned seven years, from 698 to 705 (Hodgkin, VI, 362, 363).

[2] A. D. 698 (Giansevero).

[3] Paul is in error in saying that it was the Synod of Constantinople at the time of pope Vigilius which declared the Virgin Mary the Mother of God. Such declaration was made at Ephesus. The Council of Constantinople was the one that condemned the Three Chapters and led to the long schism described in the previ-

Chapter XV.

In these days[1] Cedoal king of the Anglo-Saxons who had waged many wars in his own country[2] was converted to Christ and set out for Rome, and when on the way he came to king Cuninepert he was magnificently received by him, and when he had come to Rome he was baptized by pope Sergius and called Peter and while dressed in white[3] he departed to the heavenly realms. His body was buried in the church of St. Peter and has inscribed above it this epitaph:[4]

Cedoal, mighty in arms, for the love of his God has forsaken
Eminence, riches and kin, triumphs and powerful realms,
Arms and nobles and cities and camps and gods of the household,
Things that the thrift of his sires gathered, or he for himself,

ous notes (III, 20, 26; IV, 33 *supra*). The return of the schismatics to the church took place according to other authorities not at Aquileia but at Pavia (Waitz, Appendix, p. 245, 248), when they declared with shouts of triumph that they renounced the heresy of Theodore and his companions and asked to be restored to the church. Legates were sent to bear the news to Pope Sergius who ordered that the manuscripts of the schismatics should be burned (Hodgkin, V, 483, 484). Possibly one council was held at Aquileia and another at Pavia. Thus all the kingdom of the Langobards was now restored to full Catholic communion.

[1] This journey and conversion of king Cedoal (or Ceadwalla of Wessex) is incorrectly placed by Paul at the time of the synod at Aquileia, 698. It actually occurred in 689 (Hodgkin, VI, 318; V, 483).

[2] He had annexed Sussex, ravaged Kent and massacred the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight (Hodgkin, VI, 318).

[3] The garment of the neophytes, worn by those just baptized.

[4] The author of this epitaph was Archbishop Benedict of Milan, A. D. 681–725 (Waitz, p. 225).

So that as king and a guest he might gaze on Peter and Peter's
Chair, and propitiously quaff waters unstained from his spring,
Taking in radiant draught the shining light whose refulgence,
Giving immortal life, floweth on every side!
Swift to perceive the rewards of a life restored by conversion,
Joyful, he casts aside heathenish madness, and then
Changes his name as well, and Sergius the pontiff commanded
Peter he should be called; until the Father himself,
Making him pure by the grace of Christ in the font of the new birth,
Lifted him, clothed in white, up to the stronghold of heaven!
Wonderful faith of the king, and of Christ the astonishing mercy!
His is the perfect plan—counsel that none can approach!
Coming in safety indeed from remotest regions of Britain,
Through many nations, along ways many, over the straits,
Bringing his mystical gifts, he gazed upon Romulus' city
Looked upon Peter's church, worthy of reverence due;
Clad in white will he go, in the flocks of Christ a companion;
Earth his body may hold, heaven his spirit will keep.
You may the rather believe he has changed the mere badge of the
scepters
He whom your eyes have seen winning the kingdom of Christ.[1]

Chapter XVI.

At this time in Gaul when the kings of the Franks were degenerating from their wonted courage and skill, those who were regarded as stewards of the palace began to administer the kingly power and to do whatever is the custom for kings, since it was ordained from heaven that the sovereignty of the Franks should be transferred to the race of these men. And Arnulf was at that time[2] steward of the royal palace, a man, as was

[1] A version in rhyme, less literal than the foregoing, is found in Giles' translation of the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, Vol. I, p. 278.

[2] Paul is in error in making Arnulf, who died August 18, 641, contemporary with Cunincpert (Jacobi, 42).

afterwards apparent, pleasing to God and of wonderful holiness, who, after enjoying the glory of this world, devoted himself to the service of Christ and was distinguished in the episcopate and finally, choosing the life of a hermit, rendered all kinds of services to lepers and lived in the greatest abstinence. Concerning his wonderful doings at the church of Metz where he carried on the bishopric, there is a book containing an account of his miracles and the abstinence of his life. But I too, in a book which I wrote concerning the bishops of this city, at the request of Angelramnus, archbishop of the aforesaid church, a very gentle man and distinguished by holiness, have set down concerning this most holy man Arnulf, certain of his miracles which I have considered it merely superfluous to repeat here.

Chapter XVII.

During these occurrences Cuninepert, a ruler most beloved by all, after he had held for twelve years alone, succeeding his father, the kingdom of the Langobards, was finally withdrawn from this life. He built in the field of Coronate where he had waged war against Alahis, a monastery in honor of the holy martyr George.[1] He was moreover a handsome man and conspicuous in every good quality and a bold warrior. He was buried with many tears of the Langobards near the

[1] The city of Modena, half ruined during the insurrection of Alahis, was also restored by him (Hodgkin, VI, 314, note 2). Cuninepert was the first Langobard king whose effigy is found upon the coins (id., p. 317).

church of our Lord the Saviour which his grandfather Aripert had formerly built.[1] And he left the kingdom of the Langobards to his son Liutpert who was yet of the age of boyhood, to whom he gave as his tutor Ansprand, a wise and distinguished man.

Chapter XVIII.

When eight months had elapsed from this time,[2] Raginpert, duke of Turin, whom formerly king Godepert had left as a little boy when he was killed by Grimuald, of which we have also spoken above,[3] came with a strong force and fought against Ansprand and Rotharit, duke of the Bergamascans at Novariae (Novara), and defeating them in the open field took possession of the kingdom of the Langobards. But he died the same year.

Chapter XIX.

Then his son Aripert, again making ready for war, fought at Ticinum with king Liutpert and with Ansprand and Ato and Tatzo and also Rotharit and Farao; but overcoming all these in battle he took the child Liutpert alive as a prisoner of war. Ansprand also fled and fortified himself in the island of Commacina.[4]

[1] In Ticinum, where there was an epitaph upon his tomb, referred to by Muratori in his book on the Antiquities of Este, Chapters 1–10, p. 73 (Waitz).

[2] A. D. 701 (Giansevero).

[3] IV, Ch. 51.

[4] Spelled elsewhere Comacina.

Chapter XX.

But when Rotharit indeed returned to his city of Bergamus (Bergamo) he seized the kingly power. King Aripert marched against him with a great army, and having first attacked and captured Lauda (Lodi) he beseiged Bergamus, and storming it without any difficulty with battering rams and other machines of war, presently took it and seized Rotharit the false king and shaving his hair and his beard, thrust him into exile at Turin, and there after some days he was killed. Liutpert indeed whom he had taken he deprived of life in like manner in the bath.

Chapter XXI.

He also sent an army into the island of Commacina against Ansprand. When this was known Ansprand fled to Clavenna (Chiavenna), thence he came through Curia (Chur) a city of the Rhaetians to Theutpert, duke of the Bavarians, and was with him for nine years. But the army of Aripert indeed took possession of the island in which Ansprand had been and destroyed his town.

Chapter XXII.

Then king Aripert when he was confirmed in his sovereignty, tore out the eyes of Sigiprand, the son of Ansprand, and afflicted in various ways all who had been connected with the latter by the tie of blood. He also kept Liutprand, the younger son of Ansprand, in custody, but because he regarded him as a person of no importance and as yet a mere youth, he not only inflicted no punishment at all upon his body, but let him

depart so that he could go to his father. There is no doubt that this was done by the command of God Almighty who was preparing him for the management of the kingdom. Then Liutprand proceeded to his father in Bavaria and caused him incalculable joy by his coming. But king Aripert caused the wife of Ansprand, Theodorada by name, to be seized; and when she with her woman's wilfulness boasted that she would get to be queen, she was disfigured in the beauty of her face, her nose and ears being cut off. Also the sister of Liutprand, Aurona by name, was mutilated in like manner.

Chapter XXIII.

At this time in Gaul, in the kingdom of the Franks, Anschis,[1] the son of Arnulf, who is believed to be named after Anchises the former Trojan, conducted the sovereignty under the title of steward of the palace.

Chapter XXIV.

When Ado who we said was caretaker[2] had died at Forum Julii, Ferdulf, a man tricky and conceited, who came from the territories of Liguria, obtained the dukedom. Because he wanted to have the glory of a victory over the Slavs, he brought great misfortune upon himself and the people of Forum Julii. He gave sums of money to certain Slavs to send upon his request an army of Slavs into this province, and it was accord-

[1] Or Ansegis. He is to be referred however to an earlier period (Waitz).

[2] VI, Chap. 3, *supra*.

ingly done. But that was the cause of great disaster in this province of Forum Julii. The freebooters of the Slavs fell upon the flocks and upon the shepherds of the sheep that pastured in their neighborhoods and drove away the booty taken from them. The ruler of that place, whom they called in their own language "sculdahis,"[1] a man of noble birth and strong in courage and capacity, followed them, but nevertheless he could not overtake the freebooters. Duke Ferdulf met him as he was returning thence and when he asked him what had become of these robbers, Argait, for that was his name, answered that they had escaped. Then Ferdulf in rage thus spoke to him: "When could you do anything bravely, you whose name, Argait, comes from the word coward,"[1] and Argait, provoked by great anger, since he was a brave man, answered as follows: "May God so will that you and I, duke Ferdulf, may not depart from this life until others know which of us is the greater coward." When they had spoken to each other

[1] See the German, *Schultheiss*, local magistrate. They were subordinate to the judges (*i. e.*, the dukes or the gastaldi). See II, 32, note 4 (pp. 86–91), *supra;* Pabst, 499.

[2] *Arga*, a Langobard word, meaning cowardly, inert, worthless. See Rothari, Edict, Chapter 381 (M. G. LL., IV, p. 88), where the word is recognized as conveying a particular insult. "If one in rage calls another an *arga*, and he cannot deny it, and says he has called him so in rage, he shall declare upon oath that he does not hold him for an *arga*, and thereupon he shall pay twelve *solidi* for the offensive word. But if he insists upon it and says he can prove it in a duel, so let him convict him, if he can, or let him pay as above."

in turn, these words, in the vulgar tongue,[1] it happened not many days afterwards, that the army of the Slavs, for whose coming duke Ferdulf had given his sums of money, now arrived in great strength. And when they had set their camp upon the very top of a mountain

[1] "*Vulgaria verba.*" Hartmann (II, 2, 58) regards this passage as presupposing that Ferdulf and Argait could speak Latin with one another. After the permanent settlement of the Langobards in Italy the current Latin language of the time (which was the only written language, and the only one fitted to many of the new relations imposed by their intercourse with the Roman population) gradually superseded their own more barbarous tongue. (Hartmann, II, 2, 22.) It is evident, however, from the German words used by Paul, as well as from his description of this controversy between duke Ferdulf and Argait, which must have occurred not far from A. D. 700 (Hodgkin, VI, 328, note 3), that the Langobard language was spoken in the eighth century, and there are traces of its continuance even after the Frankish invasion, A. D. 774. In a document in upper Italy the pronoun *ih* introduced by mistake before the Latin words "have subscribed myself" indicate the existence of the Langobard as a spoken language in the latter half of the ninth century. The Chronicle of Salerno, composed in 978 (Ch. 38, MGH. SS., III, 489), refers to the German language as "formerly" spoken by the Langobards, from which it would appear that in that region at least it had then become extinct. But it is quite uncertain just when it ceased to be used. Probably the language continued longest where the German population was most dense, and the period where it died out as a living language must have been preceded by a considerable time, in which those who spoke it also understood and spoke the Latin tongue. The period of its decline can be traced by numerous Latin terminations of German words and the addition of German suffixes (for example, *engo, ingo, esco-asco- atto- etto- otto*) to Latin words, combinations which have been important ingredients in the formation of modern Italian (Bruckner, Sprache der Langobarden, pp. 11–17).

and it was hard to approach them from almost any side, duke Ferdulf, coming upon them with his army, began to go around that mountain in order that he could attack them by more level places. Then Argait of whom we have spoken thus said to Ferdulf: "Remember, duke Ferdulf, that you said I was lazy and useless and that you called me in our common speech a coward, but now may the anger of God come upon him who shall be the last of us to attack those Slavs," and saying these words, he turned his horse where the ascent was difficult on account of the steepness of the mountain, and began to attack the fortified camp of the Slavs. Ferdulf, being ashamed not to attack the Slavs himself, through the same difficult places, followed him through those steep and hard and pathless spots, and his army too, considering it base not to follow their leader, began also to press on after him. Consequently the Slavs, seeing that they were coming upon them through steep places, prepared themselves manfully, and fighting against them more with stones and axes[1] than with arms they threw them nearly all from their horses and killed them. And thus they obtained their victory, not by their own strength, but by chance. There all the nobility of the Friulans perished. There duke Ferdulf fell and there too he who had provoked him was killed. And there so great a number of brave men were vanquished by the wickedness and thoughtlessness of dissension as could, with unity and wholesome counsel,

[1] *Securibus.* Hodgkin translates "tree trunks," believing that the axes were used in felling trees to cast down upon them (VI, 330, and note 3).

overthrow many thousands of their enemies. There, however, one of the Langobards, Munichis by name, who was afterwards the father of the dukes Peter of Forum Julii and Ursus of Ceneta (Ceneda), alone acted in a brave and manly manner. When he had been thrown from his horse and one of the Slavs suddenly attacking him had tied his hands with a rope, he wrested with his bound hands the lance from the right hand of that same Slav, pierced him with it, and tied as he was, threw himself down through the steep places and escaped. We put these things into this history especially for this purpose, that nothing further of a like character may happen through the evil of dissension.

Chapter XXV.

And so duke Ferdulf having died in this way, Corvolus was appointed in his place, but he held the dukedom only a little while, and when he had offended the king, his eyes were torn out and he lived ignominiously.

Chapter XXVI.

Afterwards indeed Pemmo acquired the dukedom.[1] He was a man of talent and useful to his country. His father was Billo who had been a native of Bellunum (Belluno), but on account of a sedition he had caused at that place he afterwards came to Forum Julii, and lived there peacefully. This Pemmo had a wife, Ratperga by name, who since she was boorish in appear-

[1] De Rubeis (319) thinks this was in 705. He held the dukedom about twenty-six years (Hodgkin, VI, 332).

ance often asked her husband to send her away and take another wife whom it would befit to be the spouse of so great a duke. But as he was a wise man he said that her behavior and humility and reverent modesty pleased him more than beauty of body. From this wife then Pemmo begot three sons, Ratchis and Ratchait and Ahistulf,[1] energetic men, whose birth raised the humility of their mother to high honor. This duke collected all the sons of all the nobles who had died in the war of which we have spoken, and brought them up in like manner with his own children as if they themselves had been begotten by him.

Chapter XXVII.

At this time then, Gisulf the ruler of the Beneventines took Sura (Sora), a city of the Romans, and in like manner the towns of Hirpinum (Arpino) and Arx (Arce).[2] This Gisulf at the time of Pope John[3] came to Campania with all his forces burning and plundering, took many captives and set up his camp as far as in the place which is called Horrea,[4] and no one could resist

[1] Ratchis and Aistulf were afterwards kings of the Langobards.

[2] Three towns on or near the river Liris or Garigliano and something over fifty miles southeast of Rome.

[3] John VI, A. D. 701–704. Others think, John V, A. D. 685 (Waitz).

[4] Hodgkin (VI, 336, note 2) believes that Puteoli is intended—Duchesne, followed by Hartmann (II, 2, 116), says it was a place at the fifth milestone of the Via Latina. It seems uncertain whether one incursion or more was meant by this chapter of Paul (Id).

him. The Pontiff sent priests to him with apostolic gifts and redeemed all the captives from the hands of his troops, and induced the duke himself to go back home with his army.

Chapter XXVIII.

At this time[1] Aripert king of the Langobards made restitution by gift of the patrimony of the Cottian Alps[2] which had formerly belonged to the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See but had been taken away by the Langobards a long time before, and he dispatched this deed of gift written in golden letters to Rome. Also in these days[3] two kings of the Saxons[4] coming to Rome to the footsteps of the apostles, died suddenly as they desired.

Chapter XXIX.

Then also Benedict archbishop of Mediolanum (Milan) came to Rome and conducted his lawsuit for the church of Ticinum, but he was defeated because from early times the bishops of Ticinum had been con-

[1] A. D. 707 (Giansevero).

[2] Paul does not intend to say that this patrimony included the whole province of the Cottian Alps, but simply that part of the papal patrimony was in that province (Hodgkin, VI, 324, note 2).

[3] This is erroneous, the king's pilgrimage did not occur during the papacy of John VI (701–705), to whom Aripert made this gift, but in 709 under Constantine I (Jacobi, p. 50; Hodgkin, VI, 323).

[4] Coinred king of the Mercians and Offa prince of the East Saxons (Hodgkin, VI, 323).

secrated by the Roman Church.[1] This venerable archbishop Benedict was a man of eminent holiness, and the fame of good opinion concerning him shone brightly throughout the whole of Italy.

Chapter XXX.

Then when Transamund, the duke of the Spoletans had died,[2] Faruald his son, succeeded to his father's place. Moreover, Wachilapus was the brother of Transamund and governed that same dukedom equally with his brother.

Chapter XXXI.

But Justinian, who had lost his imperial power and was in exile in Pontus, again received the sovereignty by the help of Terebellus, king of the Bulgarians, and put to death those patricians who had expelled him. He took also Leo and Tiberius[3] who had usurped his place and caused them to be butchered in the midst of the circus before all the people.[4] He tore out the eyes of Gallici-

[1] The date of this is fixed by Paul at too early a period (Jacobi, 56).

[2] He appears to have reigned forty years from 663 to 703 (Hodgkin, VI, 337).

[3] Paul has here misunderstood the language of Bede from whom he took this statement and who said that Justinian executed Leo (Leontius) and Tiberius (Apsimar) the patricians who had expelled him. No other patricians are referred to (Jacobi, 50).

[4] Justinian II, who had been exiled to Cherson (see ch. 12, note *supra*), was rejected by the citizens of that place, whereupon he roamed through the southern part of Russia and took refuge with

nus[1] the patriarch of Constantinople and sent him to Rome and he appointed Cyrus the abbot who had taken care of him when he was an exile in Pontus, as bishop in the place of Gallicinus. He ordered Pope Constantine to come to him, and received him and sent him back with honor. [2] Falling upon the earth he asked the Pope to intercede for his sins and he renewed all of the privileges of his church.[3] When he sent his army into Pontus to seize Filippicus, whom he had held there in bondage, this same venerable Pope earnestly forbade him from doing this but he could not, however, prevent it.

the Cagan of the Khazars, a Hunnish tribe settled around the sea of Azof, and the Cagan gave him in marriage his sister Theodora. The reigning emperor Tiberius sent messengers to the Cagan offering him great gifts to kill or surrender Justinian. The Cagan listened to the tempting proposals, but Theodora warned her husband, who fled to the Danube, where Terbel or Terebellus joined him in an effort to regain the throne. With the aid of the Bulgarians he attacked and conquered Constantinople. His two rivals, who had successively reigned in his absence, were now both loaded with chains and brought before his throne in the Hippodrome where he placed his feet upon their necks before causing them to be beheaded at the place of public execution (Hodgkin, 365–368).

[1] Callinicus (not Gallicinus) had preached a sermon rejoicing at the overthrow of Justinian ten years before (Hodgkin, VI, 361).

[2] Constantine left Rome October, 710 (Hodgkin, VI, 375) and returned October, 711 (id., p. 379).

[3] It is probable that the decrees of the Quinisextan Council were now accepted by the pope (Hodgkin, VI, 378–379).

Chapter XXXII.

The army too which had been sent against Filippicus joined Filippicus' side and made him emperor. He came to Constantinople against Justinian, fought with him at the twelfth milestone from the city, conquered and killed him, and obtained his sovereign power. Justinian indeed reigned six years with his son Tiberius in this second term.[1] Leo in banishing him cut off his nostrils and he, after he had assumed the sovereignty, as often as he wiped off his hand flowing with a drop of rheum, almost so often did he order some one of those who had been against him to be slain.[2]

[1] In his insane fury for revenge against the people of Cherson who had rejected him when he was exiled, Justinian sent three expeditions against that city to destroy it. In the first of these its leading citizens were seized and sent for punishment to Constantinople, where some were roasted alive and others drowned; but Justinian still accused his generals of slackness in executing his orders and sent others in their places, who were, however, compelled to give up the bloody work, and then for self-protection to join the party of revolt which gathered around one Bardanis, an Armenian, who was proclaimed emperor under the name of Filippicus, whereupon an expedition set out for Constantinople to dethrone Justinian. It was entirely successful. The tyrant was deserted by his subjects, and with his son Tiberius was captured and slain (Hodgkin, 379–384).

[2] A reign of terror had followed the restoration of Justinian and innumerable victims perished. Some were sewn up in sacks and thrown into the sea, others invited to a great repast and when they rose to leave were sentenced to execution (Hodgkin, VI, 369). He was specially infuriated against the city of Ravenna and sent a fleet thither under the patrician Theodore, seized the chief men of the city, brought them to Constantinople, blinded the arch-

Chapter XXXIII.

In these days then, when the patriarch Peter was dead, Serenus undertook the government of the church of Aquileia.[1] He was a man endowed with a simple character and devoted to the service of Christ.

Chapter XXXIV.

But Filippicus indeed, who was called Bardanis, after he was confirmed in the imperial dignity, ordered that Cyrus, of whom we have spoken, should be turned out of his patriarchate and return to Pontus, to govern his monastery. This Filippicus dispatched letters of perverted doctrine to pope Constantine which he, together

bishop Felix, and put the rest to death (pp. 373–374). Justinian then sent as exarch to Italy John Rizokopus, who went first to Rome and put to death a number of papal dignitaries and then proceeded to Ravenna, where in a struggle with the local forces he was killed. The people of Ravenna refused to recognize Justinian, and chose a leader of their own in the person of Georgius, who organized an autonomous government and established a military organization in Italy independent of Byzantium (Hartmann, II, 2, 78–81).

[1] It was afterwards, at the request of king Liutprand, that pope Gregory II sent the pallium of a metropolitan to Serenus, bishop of Aquileia (Dandolo, VII, 2, 13, see Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. XII, 131 ; Chronicle of John the Deacon, p. 96, Monticolo). Dissensions arose between the patriarchs of Aquileia and Grado, and Gregory wrote to Serenus warning him not to pass beyond the bounds of the Langobard nation and trespass upon Grado (Hodgkin, 466–467). The seat of the patriarch was subsequently removed, first to Cormons, and after Serenus had died and Calixtus had succeeded him (see Ch. 51, *infra*), to Cividale.

with a council of the Apostolic See, rejected,[1] and on account of this affair he caused pictures to be made in the portico of St. Peter representing the transactions of the six holy general councils. For Filippicus had ordered that pictures of this kind which were in the imperial city, should be carried away. The Roman people determined that they would not take the name of the heretical emperor upon their documents, nor his likeness upon their coins. Hence his image was not brought into the church, nor was his name mentioned in the solemnities of the mass. When he had held the sovereignty one year and six months, Anastasius, who was also called Artemius, rising against him, expelled him from the sovereignty and deprived him of his eyes, but did not however kill him.[2] This Anastasius sent letters to Rome to pope Constantine by Scolasticus, the patrician and exarch of Italy, in which he declared himself to be an adherent of the Catholic church and an acknowledger of the Sixth Holy Council.

Chapter XXXV.

Then after Ansprand had been in exile in Bavaria for now nine full years, in the tenth year, after Teutpert was at last prevailed upon, (to make war) the commander of the Bavarians came with his army to Italy

[1] The authorities disagree and the passage is not clear. Perhaps a partial council, summoned by the Pope, is meant. Filippicus declared in favor of the Monotheletes, who had been condemned by the Sixth Œcumenical Council at Constantinople (Giansevero).

[2] A. D. 713 (Hodgkin, VI, 386).

and fought with Aripert and there occured a great slaughter of the people on both sides. But although at last, night broke off the battle, it is certain that the Bavarians had turned their backs and that the army of Aripert had returned as a victor to its camp. But since Aripert was unwilling to remain in camp and preferred to go into the city of Ticinum, by this act he brought despair upon his own people and boldness upon his adversaries, and after he had returned to the city and had felt that he had offended his army by this deed, he presently took advice that he should flee to France and carried with him from the palace as much gold as he thought useful to him. And when weighted down with the gold, he attempted to swim across the river Ticinus, he sank there and, choked with the waters, expired. His body was found on the following day, was cared for in the palace and was thence brought forth to the church of our Lord the Saviour which the former Aripert had built, and was there buried. In the days when he held the kingly power, Aripert, going forth at night, and proceeding to one place and another, inquired for himself what was said about him by particular cities, and diligently investigated what kind of justice the various judges rendered to the people. When the ambassadors of foreign nations came to him, he wore in their presence mean garments and those made of skins, and in order that they should not form designs against Italy he never offered them precious wines nor delicacies of other kinds. He reigned moreover with his father Ragimpert, and alone, up to the twelfth year. He was also a religious man, given to charities and a lover of

justice.[1] In his days there was very great fertility of the land, but the times were barbarous. His brother Gumpert then fled to France and remained there to the day of his death. He had three sons, of whom the eldest one, Ragimpert by name, governed the city of Aureliani (Orleans) in our own days. After the death of this Aripert, Ansprand obtained possession of the kingdom of the Langobards[2] but reigned only three months. He was a man distinguished in all ways and very few were to be compared with him in wisdom. When the Langobards become aware of his approaching death they set his son Liutprand on the royal throne[3] and when Ansprand, while he was living, heard this he greatly rejoiced.[4]

CHAPTER XXXVI.

At this time the emperor Anastasius dispatched a fleet to Alexandria against the Saracens. His army was turned to another purpose, and in the midst of its journey came back to the city of Constantinople, and hunting up the orthodox Theodosius, chose him as emperor and when he was put by force upon the throne of the empire, confirmed him. This Theodosius conquered Anastasius in a severe battle at the city of Nicea,

[1] Paul's estimate of Aripert's character is evidently too favorable.

[2] Thus a new dynasty came to the throne. The descendants of Theudelinda were set aside and ended their lives in the kingdom of the Franks (Hartmann, II, 2, 125).

[3] June 12, 712 (Pabst, 474).

[4] Ansprand was buried in Pavia in the chapel of Adrian the martyr which he is said to have built. Waitz gives his epitaph.

and having imposed an oath upon him, caused him to be ordained a churchman and a presbyter. When Anastasius received the sovereignty, he presently put up in its former place in the imperial city that revered picture in which the holy councils were painted and which had been torn down by Filippicus. In these days the river Tiber had such an inundation that having overflowed its bed it did many injuries to the city of Rome so that it rose in the Via Lata to one and a half times the height of a man, and from the gate of St. Peter to the Molvian bridge[1] the waters all mingled together as they flowed down.

Chapter XXXVII.

In these times, by the inspiration of Divine Love, many of the nobles and common people, men and women, dukes and private persons of the nation of the Angles were in the habit of coming from Britain to Rome. Pipin[2] at that time obtained the sovereignty in the kingdom of the Franks. He was a man of astonishing boldness who instantly crushed his foes in attacking them. For he crossed the Rhine and with only one of his attendants he fell upon a certain adversary of his and killed him with his followers in his bedchamber where he lived. He also courageously waged many wars with the Saxons and especially with Ratpot, king of the Frisians. He had also a number of sons but

[1] The Pons Mulvius (now the Ponte Molle) was built by the censor M. Æmilius Scaurus, B. C. 109.

[2] The father of Charles Martel (Abel).

among these Charles, who succeeded him afterwards in the sovereignty, was the most distinguished.

Chapter XXXVIII.

But when king Liutprand had been confirmed in the royal power,[1] Rothari, a blood relation of his, wished to kill him. He prepared therefore a banquet for him in his home at Ticinum, in which house he hid some very strong men fully armed who were to kill the king while he was banqueting. When this had been reported to Liutprand he ordered Rothari to be called to his palace, and feeling him with his hand he discovered, as had been told him, a cuirass put on under his clothing.[2] When Rothari found out that he was detected, he straightway leaped backwards and unsheathed his sword to strike the king. On the other hand the king drew forth his own sword from his scabbard. Then one of the king's attendants named Subo, seizing Rothari from behind, was wounded by him in the forehead, but others leaping upon Rothari killed him there. Four of his sons indeed who were not present were also put to death in the places where they were found. King Liutprand was indeed a man of great boldness so that when two of his armor-bearers thought to kill him and this had been reported to him, he went alone with them into a very deep wood and straightway holding against them

[1] A. D. 712 (Hodgkin, VI, 389). By this confirmation the usurpation of the new dynasty of Ansprand was recognized (Hartmann, II, 2, 125).

[2] The story of Grimuald and Godepert seems to be here repeated with a slight variation.

his drawn sword he reproached them because they had planned to slay him and urged them to do it. And straightway they fell at his feet and confessed all they had plotted. And he also did this thing in like manner with others, but nevertheless he presently pardoned those who confessed even a crime of such great wickedness.

Chapter XXXIX.

Then when Gisulf, the duke of the Beneventines had died, Romuald his son undertook the government of the people of the Samnites.

Chapter XL.

About these times Petronax, a citizen of the city of Brexia (Brescia) spurred by the love of God, came to Rome and then by the exhortation of Pope Gregory of the Apostolic See, proceeded to this fortress of Cassinum;[1] and when he came to the holy remains of the blessed father Benedict he began to dwell there with certain honest men who were already living there before. And they appointed this same venerable man Petronax as their superior, and not long afterwards, with the aid of Divine Mercy and through favor of the merits of the blessed father Benedict, after the lapse of about a hundred and ten years from the time when that place had become destitute of the habitation of men, he became there the father of many monks of high and low degree who gathered around him, and he began to live, when the dwellings were repaired, under the restraint

[1] Paul wrote this at Monte Cassino.

of the Holy Rule of the Order and the institutions of the blessed Benedict, and he put this sacred monastery in the condition in which it is now seen. At a subsequent time Zacharias, Chief of Priests and Pontiff beloved by God, bestowed many useful things upon this venerable man Petronax, namely the books of Holy Scripture and all sorts of other things that relate to the service of a monastery and moreover he gave him with fatherly piety the Rule of the Order which the blessed father Benedict had written with his own holy hands.[1] The monastery indeed of the blessed martyr Vincent, which is situated near the source of the river Vulturnus and is now celebrated for its great community of monks, was then already founded by three noble brothers, that is, Tato, Taso and Paldo, as the writings of the very learned Autpert, abbot of this monastery show, in the volume which he composed on this subject. While the blessed Pope Gregory indeed[2] of the Roman See was still living, the fortress of Cumae was taken by the Langobards of Beneventum, but when night came on, certain of the Langobards were captured and others were killed by the duke of Naples; also the fortress itself was re-taken by the Romans. For the ransom of this fortress the Pontiff gave seventy pounds of gold as he had promised in the first place.[3]

[1] Afterwards burned A. D. 896 (Waitz).

[2] Gregory II.

[3] A. D. 717. The recapture of this place did not occur at once as Paul's account seems to indicate, but the duke of Naples was urged to the act by the Pope who promised and paid him the so-called ransom (Hodgkin, VI, 442).

Chapter XLI.

Meanwhile the emperor Theodosius, who had ruled the empire only one year, having died,[1] Leo was substituted as emperor in his place.[2]

Chapter XLII.

Among the people of the Franks, after Pipin had been released from life, his son Charles[3] of whom we have spoken took the sovereignty from the hand of Raginfrid only by means of many wars and struggles. For when he was held in prison he was set free by God's command and escaped and at first he began two or three times a struggle against Raginfrid with a few men and at last overcame him in a great battle at Vinciacum (Vincy).[4] Nevertheless he gave him one city to dwell in, that is, Andegavi (Angers)[5] while he himself undertook the government of the whole nation of the Franks.[6]

[1] An error. Theodosius did not die but was deposed (Waitz).

[2] Leo the Isaurian, the great iconoclastic emperor, born about 670, was appointed to a place in the life-guards of Justinian II, and was afterwards sent on a desperate mission to the Alans in the Caucasus where he showed great courage and ingenuity. Anastasius, the successor of Justinian appointed him general of the forces of Anatolia in Asia Minor where he kept the Saracens at bay. Theodosius III who succeeded Anastasius was considered incompetent to defend Constantinople against the Saracens and in 716 Leo was raised to the throne (Hodgkin, VI, 425, 426).

[3] Charles Martel.

[4] Near Cambray.

[5] In this statement Paul is not supported by other authorities and he is not well informed in Frankish history (Jacobi, 43).

[6] His title was not that of king but mayor of the palace; during

Chapter XLIII.

At this time king Liutprand confirmed to the Roman Church the gift of the patrimony of the Cottian Alps, and not long afterwards the same ruler took in marriage Guntrut, the daughter of Teutpert, duke of the Bavarians[1] with whom he had lived in exile, and from her he begot one daughter only.

Chapter XLIV.

During these times Faroald, duke of the Spoletans, attacked Classis, a city of the Ravenna people, but by command of king Liutprand it was restored to these same Romans. Against this duke Faroald his own son Transamund revolted and usurped his place and made him a churchman.[2] In these days Teudo, duke of

the latter part of his life however there was no king. He was the real founder of the Arnulfing or Carolingian dynasty, and his son Pipin assumed the title of king (Hodgkin, VI, 421, 422).

[1] The policy of the Bavarian dynasty, as to friendly relations with the Catholic church and with the neighboring Bavarians was continued by Liutprand. This marriage however afterwards led to other complications. After Teutpert's death, his brother Grimoald attempted to rob his son Hucbert of the sovereignty. Charles Martel, who had established his dominion over the Frankish kingdom, now seized the opportunity to restore his own suzerainty over the Bavarian dukedom, while Liutprand (probably about 725) invaded the Bavarian territories and pushed forward the boundaries of the Langobard kingdom up to Magias or Mais, by Meran. Charles also married Suanahild, a Bavarian princess, and thus became the brother-in-law of Liutprand, and the friendship between these sovereigns was firmly established (Hartmann, II, 2, 125).

[2] A. D. 724 (Waitz; Pabst, 469, note 2).

the nation of the Bavarians came for the purpose of devotion to Rome to the foot steps of the holy apostles.[1]

Chapter XLV.

When then at Forum Julii (Cividale) the patriarch Serenus had been taken away from human affairs, Calixtus, a distinguished man who was archdeacon of the church of Tarvisium (Treviso) received through the efforts of king Liutprand the government of the church of Aquileia. At this time as we said, Pemmo ruled the Langobards of Forum Julii. When he had now brought to the age of early manhood those sons of the nobles whom he had reared with his own children, suddenly a messenger came to him to say that an immense multitude of Slavs was approaching the place which is called Lauriana.[2] With those young men, he fell upon the Slavs for the third time, and overthrew them with a great slaughter, nor did any one else fall on the part of the Langobards than Sicuald, who was already mature in age. For he had lost two sons in a former battle, which occured under Ferdulf, and when he had avenged himself upon the Slavs a first and a second time according to his desire, the third time, although both the duke and the other Langobards forbade it, he could not be restrained but thus answered them: "I have already revenged sufficiently," he says, "the death of my sons

[1] A. D. 716 (Waitz). He had divided his dominion among his four sons. One of his granddaughters had married Liutprand and another Charles Martel (Hodgkin, VI, 440).

[2] Supposed to be the village of Spital near Villach (Waitz) on the Drave in Carinthia (Waitz). This seems quite uncertain.

and now if it shall happen, I will gladly receive my own death." And it so happened, and in that fight he only was killed. Pemmo, indeed, when he had overthrown many of his enemies, fearing lest he should lose in battle any one more of his own, entered into a treaty of peace with those Slavs in that place. And from that time the Slavs began more to dread the arms of the Friulans.

Chapter XLVI.

At that time the nation of the Saracens, passing over from Africa in the place which is called Septem (Ceuta), invaded all Spain.[1] Then after ten years they came with their wives and children and entered the province of Aquitaine in Gaul so as to inhabit it. Charles,[2] indeed, had then a quarrel with Eudo, prince of Aquitaine, but they joined together and fought by common consent against those Saracens. The Franks attacked them and killed three hundred and seventy-five thousand of the Saracens, while on the side of the Franks only fifteen hundred fell there. Eudo also with his followers fell upon their camp and in like manner killed many and ravaged everything.[3]

[1] The first invasion of Spain by Tarik was in the year 711, before Ansprand returned from his exile in Bavaria. It was in 721, nine years after the accession of Liutprand, that having conquered Spain, the Saracens were defeated by Eudo of Aquitaine at Toulouse (Hodgkin, VI, 418, 419).

[2] Charles Martel.

[3] Jacobi (43) believes that Paul has here combined two battles in one, the victory of Eudo over the Saracens at Toulouse in 721 and the battle of Poictiers in 732. The latter battle, however,

Chapter XLVII.

Also at this time this same nation of Saracens came with an immense army, surrounded Constantinople and besieged it continually for three years but when the citizens with great fervor cried to God, many (of the invaders) perished by hunger and cold, by war and pestilence, and thus, exhausted by the siege, they departed.[1] When they had gone thence they attacked in war the nation of the Bulgarians beyond the Danube but they were overcome also by them and took refuge in their ships. When they sought the high sea a sudden tempest attacked them and very many also perished by drowning and their ships were dashed to pieces. Within Constantinople, indeed, three hundred thousand men perished by pestilence.

Chapter XLVIII.

Liutprand also, hearing that the Saracens had laid waste Sardinia and were even defiling those places where the bones of the bishop St. Augustine had been formerly carried on account of the devastation of the barbarians and had been honorably buried, sent and gave a great price and took them and carried them over to the city of Ticinum and there buried them with the honor

appears to be indicated, for Eudo, after his victory at Toulouse, had been vanquished by the Saracens, and it would seem that the remnant of his troops shared with those of Charles Martel the victory of Poictiers (Hodgkin, VI, 419, 420).

[1] Hartmann says (II, 2, 85) the siege lasted one year, A. D. 717–718.

due to so great a father. In these days the city of Narnia (Narni) was conquered by the Langobards.[1]

Chapter XLIX.

At this time king Liutprand besieged Ravenna and took Classis and destroyed it.[2] Then Paul the patrician sent his men out of Ravenna to kill the Pope, but as the Langobards fought against them in defense of the Pope and as the Spoletans resisted them on the Salarian bridge[3] as well as the Tuscan Langobards from other places, the design of the Ravenna people came to nought. At this time the emperor Leo burned the images of the saints placed in Constantinople and ordered the Roman pontiff to do the like if he wished to have the emperor's favor, but the pontiff disdained to do this thing. Also the whole of Ravenna and of Venetia[4] resisted such commands with one mind, and if the pontiff had not prohibited them they would have attempted to set up an emperor over themselves.[5]

[1] Probably by the duke of Spoleto (Hodgkin, VI, 444).

[2] Probably not later than A. D. 725 (Hodgkin, VI, 444, note 3).

[3] A bridge on the Salarian way, over the Anio (Hodgkin, VI, 448).

[4] This word is the plural, "the Venices," for there were then two, land Venice, mostly under the Langobards, and sea Venice, under Ravenna. (See opening words of the Chronicon Venetum by John the Deacon, Monticolo's ed., p. 59.)

[5] To understand this controversy we must return to the time of Gregory I. The weakness of the Byzantine empire and its inability to protect its Italian subjects from the Langobards, combined with the growth of the administrative powers of the Pope throughout the extensive domains of the church, gave the papacy

Also king Liutprand attacked Feronianum (Fregnano)

more and more a political character. Gregory extended this influence; he even attempted to make a separate peace with the Langobards, an act which was resented by the emperor Maurice. The people of Italy began to look to the Pope for protection, and there were aspirations for independence from the Eastern Empire and for a re-establishment of the Empire of the West. The usurpation of the exarch Eleutherius and the subsequent rebellion of Olympius which was supported by Pope Martin I, as well as the revolt of Ravenna under Georgius, all show this separatist tendency. Ecclesiastical differences such as the assumption of the title of Universal Bishop by the patriarch of Constantinople, the Monothelete controversy, the *Type*, the imprisonment of Pope Martin, etc., accentuated the irritation of the West. Constantine Pogonatus, indeed, like some of his predecessors, had adopted a policy of friendship with the papacy, and also concluded a definitive treaty with the Langobards, fixing the boundaries of the Langobard and Roman dominions. But after this peace was made, the Langobards became subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Pope and it became the interest of the Roman See to play the emperor and the Langobard king against each other in favor of its own greater power and independence. (Hartmann, Atti del Congresso in Cividale, 1899, pp. 153 to 162). When Leo the Isaurian mounted the throne, he was recognized at Ravenna, but an insurrection broke out against him in Sicily, which, however, was soon suppressed. But his heavy hand was felt in Rome in his efforts to collect from church property the means for carrying on his contests against the Saracens. Gregory II, a man of great ability, then occupied the papal chair and resisted his exactions, whereupon plots were laid by imperial officers to depose and perhaps to assassinate the Pope. Then came the conflict in regard to the worship of images, a practice which had gradually grown in the church and which Leo determined to eradicate. In 725 he issued a decree for their destruction. The work was begun with energy at Constantinople, all opposition was stamped out with great severity and a popular insurrection, as well as an attack

Mons Bellius, (Monteveglio) Buxeta (Busseto) and

upon the city by a rebellious fleet was suppressed with a strong hand. In Rome, however, his efforts were not successful, and when in 727 the order for the destruction of the images was renewed, Gregory armed himself against the emperor. The people now elected dukes for themselves in different parts of Italy and proposed to elect a new emperor, but the Pope restrained them, not wishing perhaps to have an emperor close at his side or possibly fearing a greater danger from the Langobards. Italy was distracted by internal struggles, the Pope, aided by the Spoletans and Beneventans, prevailed, and the exarch Paul was killed. Upon his death the eunuch Eutychius was appointed to succeed him. He landed at Naples and sent a private messenger to Rome instructing his partisans to murder the Pope and the chief nobles, but the people assembled, anathematized Eutychius and bound themselves to live or die with the Pope. Then Eutychius turned for aid to the Langobards, and Liutprand, who had at first favored the Pope and the Italian revolutionary movement and had improved the occasion to seize a number of the possessions of the empire, now changed his policy and formed a league with the exarch to subject Spoleto and Benevento to his own dominion and enable the exarch to control the city of Rome. The king first marched to Spoleto where he took hostages and oaths of fidelity, then he moved to Rome and encamped on the plain of Nero close to the city. The Pope came forth to meet him, attended by his ecclesiastics and Liutprand fell before him and took off his mantle, his doublet, his sword and spear, crown and cross, and laid them in the crypt before the altar of St. Peter. In spite of these manifestations of reverence, however, Liutprand insisted upon a reconciliation between the Pope and the exarch which put a limit to the Italian movement toward independence and to the political aspirations of the papacy, and in great measure restored the power of the exarch—although in the controversy regarding the destruction of images, in which the people took a passionate interest, the emperor Leo was never able to impose his will upon his subjects in Italy. In other matters too, local self-government had made

Persiceta (San Giovanni in Persiceto) Bononia (Bo-

great progress during the various revolutionary movements and nowhere more than in the islands of the Venetian lagoons, where the new settlements made by the fugitives from the mainland, had now assumed a semi-independent character under the doges or dukes of Venice, who in Liutprand's time made treaties with the Langobard king (defining the boundaries of each) and (regulating the intercourse between the two communities.) Liutprand also made a treaty with Comacchio, the rival of Venice in the commerce on the Po. It is surprising that these events should have been omitted by Paul, especially as they are referred to in the Liber Pontificalis, one of his sources. It shows the incomplete character of this last book of Paul's unfinished history.

Gregory II died in 731, but his successor Gregory III pursued the same policy in respect to the emperor's edict for the destruction of the images. He convened a council attended by the archbishops of Grado and Ravenna and ninety-three Italian bishops, with other clergy and laity, which anathematized all who took part in the work of destruction. The emperor now withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Roman See all the dioceses east of the Adriatic, as well as those in Sicily, Bruttium and Calabria, and made them subject to Constantinople, and the rich and important papal possessions in the three last-named provinces were confiscated. The portions of Italy still subject to the empire became now divided into three parts—1st, southern Italy and Sicily, more directly subject to the central authority of Constantinople; 2nd, the duchy of Rome, which, subject to papal influence, gradually became more and more independent; and 3d, the immediate exarchate of Ravenna, which conducted for a short time a desperate struggle for existence (Hartmann, II, 2, 85–114; Hodgkin, VI, 432–436).

After king Liutprand had attained his purpose in regard to the dukedoms of Spoleto and Benevento, his unnatural alliance with the exarch came to an end. A Roman army under Agatho, duke of Perugia, attacked Bologna, which was in possession of the Langobards, and was defeated (Ch. 54, *infra*), and Liutprand

logna)[1] and the Pentapolis[2] and Auximun (Osimo)[3] fortresses of Emilia. And in like manner he then took possession of Sutrium (Sutri)[4] but after some days it was again restored to the Romans.[5] During the same time the emperor Leo went on to worse things so that he compelled all the inhabitants of Constantinople either by force or by blandishments, to give up the images of the Saviour and of his Holy Mother and of all the saints wherever they were, and he caused them to be burned by fire in the midst of the city. And because many of the people hindered such a wickedness from being done, some of them were beheaded and others suffered mutilation in body. As the patriarch Germanus did not consent to this error he was driven from his see and the presbyter Anastasius was ordained in his place.

Chapter L.

Romoald then, duke of Beneventum, chose a wife Gumperga, by name, who was the daughter of Aurona, king Liutprand's sister. From her he begot a son whom

captured Ravenna itself (A. D. 732–3), though the city was afterwards re-taken by the Venetians (see Hartmann, II, 2, 132–133).

[1] Tregnano is west of the Panaro (Hodgkin VI, 454, note 1); Monteveglio is west, and San Giovanni in Persiceto is a little northwest of Bologna (id.).

[2] Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Sinigaglia and Ancona.

[3] Near Ancona.

[4] A. D. 728–729 (Jacobi, 58). It is a place about 25 miles northwest of Rome.

[5] Liutprand took it from the empire, but in restoring it put it into the possession of the pope, who was then at the head of the independent movement in Italy (Hartmann, II, 2, 96–97).

he called by the name of his father, Gisulf. He had again after her another wife, Ranigunda by name, the daughter of Gaidualdus, duke of Brexia (Brescia).

Chapter LI.

At the same time a grievous strife arose between duke Pemmo and the patriarch Calixtus and the cause of this discord was the following: Fidentius, bishop of the Julian fortress (Julium Carnicum)[1] came on a former occasion and dwelt within the walls of the fortress of Forum Julii (Cividale) and established there the see of his bishopric with the approval of the former dukes. When he departed from life, Amator was ordained bishop in his place. Up to that day indeed, the former patriarchs had their see, not in Forum Julii, but in Cormones (Cormons) because they had not at all been able to dwell in Aquileia on account of the incursions of the Romans. It greatly displeased Calixtus who was eminent for his high rank that a bishop dwelt in his diocese with the duke and the Langobards and that he himself lived only in the society of the common people. Why say more? He worked against this same bishop Amator and expelled him from Forum Julii and established his own dwelling in his house. For this cause duke Pemmo took counsel with many Langobard nobles against this same patriarch, seized him and brought him to the castle of Potium,[2] which is situated

[1] Now Zuglio, a town north of Tolmezzo (Hodgkin, VI, 41, note 2).

[2] Not identified. Giansevero believes it was the castle of Duino.

above the sea, and wanted to hurl him thence into the sea but he did not at all do this since God prohibited. He kept him, however, in prison and nourished him with the bread of tribulation. King Liutprand hearing this was inflamed with great rage, and taking away the dukedom from Pemmo, appointed his son Ratchis in his place. Then Pemmo arranged to flee with his followers into the country of the Slavs, but Ratchis his son besought the king and reinstated his father in the monarch's favor. Pemmo then, having taken an assurance that he would suffer no harm, proceeded to the king with all the Langobards with whom he had taken counsel. Then the king, sitting in judgement, pardoned for Ratchis' sake Pemmo and his two sons, Ratchait and Aistulf, and ordered them to stand behind his chair. The king, however, in a loud voice ordered that all those who had adhered to Pemmo, naming them, should be seized. Then Aistulf could not restrain his rage and attempted to draw his sword and strike the king but Ratchis his brother prevented him. And when these Langobards were seized in this manner, Herfemar, who had been one of them, drew his sword, and followed by many, defended himself manfully and fled to the church of the blessed Michael and then by the favor of the king he alone secured impunity while the others were for a long time tormented in bonds.

Chapter LII.

Then Ratchis having become duke of Forum Julii as we have said, invaded Carniola (Krain), the country of the Slavs, with his followers, killed a great multitude of

Slavs and laid waste everything belonging to them. Here when the Slavs had suddenly fallen upon him and he had not yet taken his lance from his armor-bearer, he struck with a club that he carried in his hand the first who ran up to him and put an end to his life.

Chapter LIII.

About these times Charles the ruler of the Franks dispatched his son Pipin to Liutprand that the latter should take his hair according to custom. And the king, cutting his hair, became a father to him and sent him back to his father enriched with many royal gifts.[1]

Chapter LIV.

During the same time the army of the Saracens again entering into Gaul made much devastation. Charles giving battle against them not far from Narbo (Narbonne) overthrew them in the same manner as before with the greatest slaughter.[2] Again the Saracens invaded the boundaries of the Gauls, came as far as Provincia (Provence), took Arelate (Arles) and destroyed everything around it.[3] Then Charles sent messengers

[1] This friendship between the royal houses of the Franks and the Langobards had been the traditional policy since Agilulf's time and had been of great advantage to both kingdoms (Hartmann, II, 2, 137).

[2] A. D. 737 (Waitz).

[3] The Frankish writers have related nothing of this. It seems doubtful whether a new incursion of the Saracens was meant inasmuch as they occupied Arles in A. D. 737 (Waitz).

with gifts to king Liutprand and asked assistance from him against the Saracens and he without delay hastened with the whole army of the Langobards to his assistance.[1] The nation of the Saracens when they learned this, presently fled away from those regions and Liutprand with his whole army returned to Italy.[2] The same ruler waged many wars against the Romans in which he was always the victor except that once in his absence his army was defeated in Ariminum (Rimini), and at another time, when at the village of Pilleum, a great multitude of those who were bringing small presents and gifts to the king and the blessings of particular churches were attacked and killed or captured by the Romans while the king was stopping in the Pentapolis. Again when Hildeprand the nephew of the king and Peredeo the duke of Vincentia (Vicenza) got possession of Ravenna, the Venetians suddenly attacked them. Hildeprand was taken by them and Peredeo fell fighting

[1] Jacobi says (p. 44) that Paul has arbitrarily changed the history of this campaign. The Chron. Moiss. (MG. SS. 1 292) states that Charles Martel on the news of the invasion of the Saracens into Provence, by which Arles, Avignon, and other places fell into their hands, marched against them, drove them back over the Rhone, besieged Narbonne, and without raising the siege, defeated a second army of the Arabs approaching for the relief of the city. Paul out of this makes two campaigns. In the first, the Saracens invaded Gaul and were defeated by Charles not far from Narbonne; in the second, they devastated Provence and took Arles, whereupon Charles called upon Liutprand for help and the fame of his name frightened the enemy.

[2] A. D. 737 (Hodgkin, VI, 475).

manfully.[1] At a subsequent period[2] also, the Romans, swollen with their accustomed pride, assembled on every side under the leadership of Agatho, duke of the Perugians, and came to seize Bononia (Bologna), where Walcari, Peredeo and Rotcari were then staying in camp, but the latter rushed upon the Romans, made a great slaughter of them and compelled those who were left to seek flight.

[1] This confused chapter in which Peredeo (unless it be some other of the same name) afterwards comes to life again, has been considered to indicate that Ravenna had been taken by the Langobards and was recovered by the Venetians. These Venetians were still a feeble community. Their chief towns were not on the site that Venice now occupies, but in other parts of the lagoons, at Heraclea, Equilium, and Metamaucus. The present city on the Rialto was not founded until nearly seventy years after the death of Liutprand (Hodgkin, VI, 484, 485), notwithstanding Venetian traditions to the contrary.

The tribunes who had originally ruled the different islands had been superseded by a single doge or duke who may have been originally an official selected by the emperor or the exarch. After the reigns of three doges the infant community remained for five years subject to "Masters of Soldiery" who were elected annually; then the dogeship was restored. John the Deacon who wrote near the end of the tenth century says (Monticolo's edition, Chronache Veneziane Antichissime, p. 95), that during the administration of Jubianus one of these Masters of Soldiery (A. D. 731–735), the exarch (probably Eutychius), came to Venetia and entreated the Venetians to help him guard and defend his own city, which Hildeprand, nephew of Liutprand, and Peredeo, duke of Vicenza had captured; that the Venetians hastened to Ravenna; that Hildeprand was captured, Peredeo fell and the city was handed over to the exarch (Hodgkin, VI, 487, 488).

[2] Probably in a preceding period since Peredeo is mentioned (Waitz).

CHAPTER LV.

In these days Transamund rebelled against the king, and when the king came upon him with his army, Transamund himself repaired to Rome in flight. Hilderic was appointed in his place.[1] When indeed Romuald the younger, duke of the Beneventines, died,[2] after he had

[1] It would seem that duke Transamund of Spoleto about the year 737 or 738 had taken the castle of Gallese from the Romans and had thereby interrupted the communication between Ravenna and Rome. Gregory III, realizing how valuable would be an alliance with the duke and how dangerous he was as an enemy, offered a a large sum of money for the restitution of Gallese and for a treaty binding him to make no war upon the Pope. Transamund made the treaty and restored the place, whereupon the duchy of Benevento also joined the alliance. This was contrary to Liutprand's policy of conquest and expansion, and the king, for this and perhaps other causes, treated Transamund as a rebel and traitor, and on June 16, 739 we find Liutprand in possession of Spoleto (Hartmann, II, 2, 137–138). After he had appointed Hilderic he marched on Rome where Transamund had taken refuge, and as Gregory refused to give up the fugitive, the king took four frontier towns, Ameria (Amelia), Horta (Orte), Polimartium (Bomarzo) and Blera (Bieda). Gregory now wrote to Charles Martel, king of the Franks, telling him of the sufferings of the church and exhorting him to come to its aid. But Charles was the friend of Liutprand and refused (Hodgkin, 475–478). Transamund recovered Spoleto in 740 but he now refused to restore the four cities taken by Liutprand and the Pope withdrew his aid (id., 479–480). Before Liutprand set forth to recover Spoleto again Gregory III died and was succeeded in the papal chair by Zacharias, who had an interview with the king, who promised to surrender the four towns, whereupon the Roman army joined him and Transamund was forced to give up Spoleto (see Ch. 57, *infra*).

[2] A. D. 731 or 732 (Hartmann, II, 132).

held the dukedom six and twenty years, there remained Gisulf his son, who was still a little boy. Some conspirators rose against him and sought to destroy him, but the people of the Beneventans who were always faithful to their leaders, slew them and preserved the life of their duke.[1] Since this Gisulf was not yet fit to govern so great a people on account of his boyish age, king Liutprand, then coming to Beneventum, took him away from thence and appointed his own nephew Gregory as duke at Beneventum, with whom a wife, Giselperga by name, was united in marriage.[2] Matters being thus arranged, king Liutprand returned to his own seat of government and bringing up his nephew Gisulf with fatherly care, he united to him in marriage Scauniperga, born from a noble stock. At this time the king himself fell into a great weakness and came near to death. When the Langobards thought that he was departing from life they raised as their king his nephew Hildeprand,[3] at the church of the Holy Mother of God, which is called "At the Poles" outside the walls of the city. When they handed to him the staff as is the custom, a cuckoo bird came flying and sat down on the

[1] A catalogue of Beneventan dukes preserved at Monte Cassino shows that one Audelais, probably a usurper, reigned for two years after Romuald II (Hodgkin, VI, 471).

[2] Gregory ruled Benevento 732 to 739 (id.). Hilderic's appointment in Spoleto occurred about the time of Gregory's death or afterwards (Hodgkin, VI, 475).

[3] A. D. 735 (Hodgkin, VI, 473). The election of Hildeprand actually preceded the rebellion of Transamund, and Paul has inverted these events (Waitz; Pabst, 478, note 5).

top of the staff. Then to certain wise persons it appeared to be signified by this portent that his government would be useless. King Liutprand indeed when he had learned this thing did not receive it with equanimity, yet when he became well of his illness he kept him as his colleague in the government. When some years had elapsed from this time, Transamund, who had fled to Rome, returned to Spoletum,[1] killed Hilderic and again undertook the daring project of rebellion against the king.

Chapter LVI.

But Gregory when he had managed the dukedom at Beneventum seven years was released from life. After his death Godescalc was made duke[2] and governed the Beneventines for three years, and to him a wife, Anna by name, was united in marriage. Then king Liutprand hearing these things concerning Spoletum and Beneventum, again advanced with his army to Spoletum. When he came to the Pentapolis, while he was proceeding from Fanum (Fano)[3] to the City of Forum Simphronii (Fossombrone),[4] in the wood which is between these places, the Spoletans uniting with the Romans brought great disasters on the king's army. The king placed duke Ratchis and his brother Aistulf with the

[1] December, 740. Supported by the army of the dukedom of Rome and by the Beneventines (Hartmann, II, 2, 139).

[2] A. D. 740. Without the nomination or approval of the king (Hartmann, II, 2, 138).

[3] On the Adriatic coast northwest of Ancona.

[4] In the March of Ancona.

Friulans in the rear; the Spoletans and Romans fell upon them and wounded some of them, but Ratchis with his brother and some other very brave men, sustaining all that weight of the battle and fighting manfully, killed many and brought themselves and their followers from thence except as I said the few who were wounded. There a certain very brave man of the Spoletans named Berto cried out to Ratchis by name, and came upon him clothed in full armor. Ratchis suddenly struck him, and threw him from his horse. And when his companions attempted to kill the man, Ratchis with his accustomed magnanimity allowed him to get away, and the man crawling upon his hands and feet entered the forest and escaped. Two other very strong men of Spoleto indeed came up behind Aistulf on a certain bridge, whereupon he struck one of them with the blunt end of his spear and hurled him down from the bridge and suddenly turning upon the other, killed him and plunged him into the water after his companion.

Chapter LVII.

But Liutprand indeed when he reached Spoletum drove Transamund from the ducal power and made him a churchman,[1] and in his place he appointed Agiprand

[1] After Transamund had been reinstated in the duchy of Spoleto the Pope called upon him to perform his part of the engagement upon which Gregory had supported him, namely, to restore to Roman dominion the four fortified places which had been taken by the Langobards, but Transamund refused. About this time (at the end of the year 741) Gregory III died, and was succeeded in the papal chair by Zacharias. The new pope now asked the

his own nephew. When he hastened to Beneventum, Godescalc having heard of his approach, endeavored to embark in a ship and flee to Greece. After he had put his wife and all his goods in the ship and attempted himself, last of all, to embark, the people of Beneventum who were faithful to Gisulf, fell upon him and he was killed. His wife indeed was carried to Constantinople with everything she possessed.

Chapter LVIII.

Then king Liutprand, arriving at Beneventum,[1] appointed his nephew Gisulf duke again in the place which had belonged to him.[2] And when matters were thus arranged he returned to his palace.[3] This most glorious

king to restore the four places, and offered to support him with a Roman army in recovering Spoleto. The king agreed, and in the spring of 742 advanced with his army, as related in the text, deposed Transamund with the aid of the Romans, and then proceeded to Benevento (Hartmann, II, 2, pp. 139, 140).

[1] About 742 (Waitz).

[2] Gisulf II reigned for ten years, outliving Liutprand (Hodgkin, VI, 472). He conformed to the policy of Liutprand, who had restored him to his dukedom (Hartmann, II, 2, 141).

[3] After Liutprand had recovered control of Spoleto and Benevento he delayed restoring the frontier cities to the duchy of Rome (VI, 55, note *supra*), and Pope Zacharias set forth with a train of ecclesiastics to Terni, where the king resided, for a personal interview, as a result of which the four cities were restored, with other territory, and a peace was concluded for twenty years. But in the following year Liutprand resumed his preparations for the conquest of Ravenna, and Zacharias, at the request of the exarch, journeyed to Pavia to the king, and in a second interview en-

king built many churches in honor of Christ in the various places where he was accustomed to stay. He established the monastery of St. Peter which was situated outside the walls of the city of Ticinum and was called the "Golden Heaven."

He built also on the top of Bardo's Alp a monastery which is called "Bercetum."[1] He also established in Olonna, his suburban manor, a dwelling to Christ of wonderful workmanship in honor of the holy martyr Anastasius, and in it also he made a monastery. In like manner too he established many churches to God in different places. Within his palace also he built a chapel of our Lord the Saviour and he appointed priests and churchmen to perform for him daily divine services, which no other kings had had. In the time of this king there was in the place whose name is Forum[2] (Foro di Fulvio), near the river Tanarus, (Tanaro) a man of wonderful holiness Baodolinus by name, who,

treated him to desist. Liutprand reluctantly consented to restore the country districts around Ravenna and two-thirds of the territory of Cesena, and to grant a truce until the king's emissaries should return from Constantinople, whither they had gone for the purpose of concluding a final treaty. This interview was one of the last public acts of Liutprand, whose ambition for the unification of Italy was thus at the last moment apparently renounced. Possibly the near approach of death and his consciousness of the impossibility of his schemes of conquest being realized by his successor may have led to their abandonment (Hartmann, II, 2, 144, 145; Hodgkin, 491–498).

[1] Or, more correctly, Liutprand endowed this monastery, which had been built before (Waitz).

[2] To-day Valenza, near Alessandria (Giansevero).

aided by the grace of Christ, was distinguished for many miracles. He often predicted future events and told of absent things as if they were present. Finally when king Liutprand had gone to hunt in the City Forest, one of his companions attempted to hit a stag with an arrow and unintentionally wounded the king's nephew, that is, his sister's son, Aufusus by name. When the king saw this he began with tears to lament his misfortune, for he loved that boy greatly, and straightway he sent a horseman of his followers to run to Baodolinus the man of God, and ask him to pray to Christ for the life of that boy. And while he was going to the servant of God, the boy died. And when he came to him the follower of Christ spoke to him as follows: "I know for what cause you are coming, but that which you have been sent to ask cannot be done since the boy is dead." When he who had been sent had reported to the king what he had heard from the servant of God, the king, although he grieved, because he could not have the accomplishment of his prayer, nevertheless clearly perceived that Baodolinus the man of God had the spirit of prophecy. A man not unlike him, Teudelapius by name, also lived at the city of Verona, who among other wonderful things which he performed, predicted also in a prophetic spirit many things which were to happen. In that time also their flourished in holy life and in good works, Peter, bishop of the church of Ticinum, who, because he was a blood relative of the king had been driven into exile at Spoletum by Aripert who was formerly king. To this man, when he attended the church of the blessed martyr Savinus, that same

venerable martyr foretold that he would be bishop at Ticinum, and afterwards when this occurred, he built a church to that same blessed martyr Savinus upon his own ground in that city. This man, among the other virtues of an excellent life which he possessed, was also distinguished as adorned with the flower of virgin chastity. A certain miracle of his which was performed at a later time we will put in its proper place.[1] But Liutprand indeed after he had held the sovereignty thirty one years and seven months, already mature in age, completed the course of this life,[2] and his body was buried in the church of the blessed martyr Adrian[3] where his father also reposes. He was indeed a man of much wisdom, very religious and a lover of peace, shrewd in counsel, powerful in war, merciful to offenders, chaste, modest, prayerful in the night-watches, generous in charities, ignorant of letters indeed, yet worthy to be likened to philosophers, a supporter of his people, an increaser of the law.[4] At the beginning of his reign he

[1] Paul died before this history was completed, and no account of this miracle appears.

[2] A. D. 744 (Hartmann, II, 2, 146).

[3] He was afterwards buried in another church (San Pietro in Cielo d'Oro). See epitaph in Waitz.

[4] On the first of March of each year during fifteen out of the thirty-one years of his reign, Liutprand, by the advice of his judges (and no longer under the sanction of a popular assembly), issued certain laws to settle matters not provided for by his predecessors. He claims that these laws were framed by divine inspiration, "because the king's heart is in the hand of God." The laws of Liutprand were written in Latin so barbarous as to be almost incomprehensible. They show a great change in the

took very many fortresses of the Bavarians. He relied

social life of the Langobards. We no longer find provisions in regard to hunting and falconry, but instead, there are enactments providing for the enforcement of contracts and the foreclosure of mortgages. The fine paid for murder is superseded by absolute confiscation of the offender's property, and if that property is insufficient, the murderer is handed over to the heirs of the murdered man as a slave. Some of these laws mention the fact that they refer to Langobards only, and one law concerning scribes ordains that those who write deeds, whether according to the laws of the Langobards or *those of the Romans*, must not write them contrary to these laws, thus indicating that at least a part of the population was governed to some extent by Roman law. (Hodgkin, VI, 392–399). It would be a necessary result of the peace made at different times between Langobards and Romans that the civil rights of Romans who lived in the Langobard territory should be recognized, which was not the case in the earlier days of Langobard domination (Hartmann, II, 2, 2–4). Under Liutprand's laws if a Roman married a Langobard woman she lost her status, and the sons born in such a union were Romans like their father and had to live by his laws. There were many laws against oppressions by the king's agents, and heavy penalties were imposed upon judges who delayed judgment. The barbarous wager of battle was continued, but somewhat restricted, for it was said, "We are uncertain about the judgment of God, and we have heard of many persons unjustly losing their cause by wager of battle, but on account of the custom of our nation of the Langobards we cannot change the law itself." There were severe laws against soothsayers and against certain forms of idolatry. (Hodgkin, VI, 400–407). A number of the later provisions of Langobard laws must be traced to Roman influence (Hartmann, II, 2–29).

There is a question how far the Langobards supplanted the Romans and how far their institutions superseded those of the Romans. The great preponderance of the Latin over the Germanic ingredients in the Italian tongue to-day and the survival of

always more upon prayers than upon arms, and always with the greatest care kept peace with the Franks and the Avars.[1]

Roman laws and institutions down to the present time seems to indicate that the Roman population and civilization greatly outweighed that of the Langobards. (See Savigny, Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter, I, p. 398.)

[1] The constant object of Liutprand's policy, at least until his final interview with pope Zacharias, was the unification of Italy under his own scepter, though the means he took for the accomplishment of this object varied with the occasion. For this purpose the friendship of the Frankish king was necessary and this he constantly maintained, aiding Charles Martel against the Saracens without claiming any territorial concessions at his hands. The principal objects of Liutprand's aggressions during the greater part of his career were the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento so far as these aspired to independent sovereignty; also the Eastern Empire, though he allied himself with the exarch when he found it necessary for the purpose of reducing the duchies to submission. The Catholic church and the papacy were protected by him, and he encouraged the movement in favor of the autonomy of Italy against Byzantium, until the pope identified himself with the rebellious dukes. Even then Liutprand's opposition to the papacy remained always of a political, and not of a religious character (Hartmann, II, 2, 125, 126). He encouraged the culture as well as the religion of Rome, and his aim was to rule ultimately over a civilized, as well as a Catholic Italy. He adapted himself to general as well as local currents of popular opinion, as is seen in the fact that he retained in his laws the trial by battle while expressing his own disbelief in its justice and that he gave to Benevento and to Friuli rulers of their own princely lines, after he had subjugated them to his authority. He always recognized the limits of possible achievement, and did not, like his successor Aistulf, contend madly against the inevitable. He was an efficient administrator and an able legislator as well as a courageous

and successful warrior. And yet this really great statesman, like his distinguished Ostrogothic predecessor Theodoric, could neither read nor write (Hartmann, II, 2, 127).

Paul's last book contains many grammatical errors and faults of construction. It was more carelessly written than the preceding portions of the work, and being the last book of an unfinished history, it is itself somewhat incomplete.

It is greatly to be regretted that Paul's work ceases at the very place where, independently of other sources, he could have told his story in great part out of the rich abundance of his own experience. From his position toward the last Langobard princes on the one side and their Frankish conquerors and the church upon the other, he possessed the highest qualifications for writing an impartial contemporary history of the overthrow of the Langobard kingdom, yet for this period, the most pregnant of all in its results on general history, we have only the meager accounts of the Frankish authorities, and the papal writings which are filled with partisan spirit. The most important source for the last half century of the Langobard kingdom is found in the lives of the Roman popes, composed by members of the Roman court, mostly contemporaneous, and collected by Anastasius in the second half of the ninth century. Besides these we have the letters of the popes to the Frankish kings and such authorities as the Chronicle of the monk Benedict of Soracte, the Legend of St. Julia, the legendary Life of Saints Amelius and Amicus, and the Chronicles of Novalese and Salerno (Abel, p. xxiv to xxvi).

Our knowledge of the last days of the Langobard kingdom is therefore very fragmentary and great care is required even in the use of the slender materials we have. No adequate explanation is given in them for the extraordinary fact that a powerful and freedom-loving people, fifty years after it had reached the summit of its power under king Liutprand, was overthrown and became the spoil of its Frankish neighbor.

A closer investigation shows that this was due to the lack of any proper law of succession to the Langobard throne, to the absence of sufficient cohesive power in the monarchy, to the intractable character of the Langobard nobles, to increasing difficulties with

the church, and to the civil disturbances and quarrels occasioned by all these causes. After the time of Gregory I, the independence of the papacy and its desire for temporal power greatly increased, while the authority of the Greek empire over its scattered Italian possessions grew constantly weaker. Charles Martel was bound to Liutprand by friendship and by the need of aid against the Saracens, but after Liutprand's death the relations between the Franks and the Langobards became more strained. (Abel, xxvii, *et seq.*) Liutprand's successor, Hildeprand, did not possess sufficient skill either to conciliate the adherents of the Pope or to control his Langobard subjects. Duke Transamund was reinstated in Spoleto, and soon the most powerful Langobard leader in the north, duke Ratchis of Friuli, was chosen king by his dependents, and Hildeprand was deposed after a reign of only eight months. Ratchis, whose diplomatic character had been shown in his career under Liutprand, now concluded a twenty years' truce with Rome, but from some cause unknown to us, difficulties afterwards arose, and he found himself constrained to attack the Pentapolis and to lay siege to Perugia. The Pope came from Rome with a train of followers, visited the camp of Ratchis, and in a personal interview induced him to desist from his undertaking. This subserviency to papal influence, however, aroused the contempt of his own nobles and followers, who in Milan, in June, 749, chose as their king his younger brother Aistulf, a man of headstrong and unyielding character, whereupon Ratchis became a monk in the cloister of Monte Cassino. Aistulf now began a career of conquest, capturing Comacchio and Ferrara, and within two years from his accession, Ravenna, the capital of the exarchate, was in his hands. Then he pushed on to Rome, and thus gave occasion to the coalition between the papacy and the Frankish kingdom, which ultimately led to the overthrow of the Langobard dominion. (Hartmann, II, 2, 146–151.) Owing to the weakness of the empire and to the theological and other differences between Rome and Byzantium, the practical separation of the West from the East was already far advanced, and the spiritual influence of the pontiff over the countries of the West, stimulated by reforms in the church and by numerous pil-

grimages to Rome from Britain and other countries, was becoming very powerful. Charles Martel had been succeeded by Pipin, who desired to change his title of Mayor of the Palace (where he reigned in the name of a helpless Merovingian monarch) to that of king, and who wished to secure the recognition of his new title, not only by the chiefs and nobles of his realm, but also by the church and by the Roman empire. Accordingly he sent an embassy to Rome to enquire of the Pope whether it was proper that in the kingdom of the Franks there should be kings who possessed no kingly power, and the Pope answered, as had been anticipated, that it would be better that he who had the power should be the monarch. Pipin now assumed that he was called to the sovereignty by apostolic authority. The Franks assembled at Soissons and chose him as their king, and he ascended the throne in November, 751, while the last Merovingian monarch was sent to a cloister. The papacy had thus rendered the new Frankish king a most important service, and now when it found itself in peril from the Langobards it was natural that a return should be solicited. In June, 752, when Aistulf with his army threatened Rome, Stephan, who had succeeded Zacharias in the papacy, secretly sent a message to Pipin imploring him to send ambassadors to that city to conduct the Pope to the kingdom of the Franks. Not long afterwards an imperial messenger from Constantinople brought word to Stephan that the emperor could send no help, but he commanded the Pope to seek a personal interview with the Langobard king and induce him if possible to relinquish his designs. In the meantime Pipin's ambassadors had come to conduct the Pope to the Frankish king, and in October, 753, Stephan, in company with these, as well as the imperial representatives, proceeded to Aistulf, who had withrawn from Rome and was then at Pavia, his own capital city. He refused, however, to abate his pretentions or to restore any of the territory he had taken from the empire. The emissaries of the Frankish king now requested Aistulf to dismiss the Pope that he might go with them to Pipin. Aistulf fell into a fury at the prospect of his plans being thwarted by a combination with the Franks, but he did not venture to restrain the Pope and thus bring on an inevitable conflict. Stephan

proceeded upon his journey, and Pipin, after an assembly of the Frankish kingdom had ratified his policy, agreed to restore, not to the emperor, but to the representative of St. Peter, the territories that had been seized by the Langobard king. Pipin and his two sons, Charles and Carloman, were now consecrated by the Pope, and the Frankish nobles bound themselves under pain of excommunication to choose no sovereign from any other line. The Frankish authorities relate that the king and his sons were at the same time made patricians, which was an imperial rank, and implied a recognition of their title at Constantinople. (Hartmann, 2, 176–187.) This title may have been granted in accordance with a previous understanding with the emperor or his representatives, but if so the empire subsequently derived little advantage from the act.

The league between Pipin and the Pope was thus sealed by the mutual exchange of possession that belonged to neither, since Stephan gave Pipin the crown of the Merovingians, and the king promised the Pope the territories which had belonged to the empire (Abel, xxviii, xxix). The king accordingly set out with his army for Italy; defeated Aistulf near the foot of the Alps and laid siege to Pavia, whereupon the Langobard king agreed to restore Ravenna and the rest of the conquered territory and to comply with the Pope's demands. But scarcely had the Franks left Italy when he repudiated his promises, and in January, 756 he renewed his attack upon Rome. Again Stephan implored and secured the intervention of the Franks, again Aistulf was defeated and besieged in his capital city and again Pipin "gave him his life and his kingdom," but upon condition that Aistulf should not only restore the captured territory, but should give to the Franks one-third of the royal treasure in Pavia besides other gifts, and pay an annual tribute of twelve thousand solidi. Aistulf did not long survive this last humiliation, he died in December, 756 (Hartmann, II, 2, 189 to 197), from an accident while hunting. His brother Ratchis now forsook his monastery, and was recognized as king by the Langobards north of the Apennines, while Desiderius, a duke in Tuscia, set up his own pretensions to the throne and the Spoletans and Beneventans joined the league of the Pope

with the Frankish king. Ratchis appeared to have the advantage of Desiderius until the latter appealed to Stephan, who required from him an oath to surrender the cities belonging to the empire and to live in peace with Rome and faithful to the Frankish kingdom. Upon these terms Stephan agreed to support his pretensions; he now became undisputed king and Ratchis again retired. Faenza and Ferrara however were the only territories he had surrendered when Stephan died and was succeeded by his brother Paul, whereupon Desiderius, far from fulfilling his promises, pushed forward with his army through the papal Pentapolis into Spoleto, treated its duke as a rebel, expelled the duke of Benevento and put his own son-in-law Arichis into the vacant place. He raised difficulties in respect to the boundaries of the places to be ceded, but by Pipin's intervention a compromise was effected by which the Pope renounced his claim upon the territories not yet surrendered, and Desiderius agreed to recognize the Pope's authority over his Italian possessions and to protect him against an attack from his own nominal sovereign the emperor (Hartmann, II, 2, 206–215).

In 768 Pipin died and was succeeded by his sons Charles and Carloman, whose mother Bertrada sought an alliance with the Bavarians and the Langobards, and asked for the hand of the daughter of Desiderius for Charles. In 771 Carloman died, whereupon Charles seized his brother's share of the kingdom, repudiated the marriage planned for him by his mother and sent back the daughter of Desiderius. The widow and children of Carloman were now taken under the protection of the Langobard monarch, and deadly hatred arose between the two sovereigns. Desiderius now seized Faenza, Ferrara and Comacchio and pushed forward into the territories of Ravenna and Rome. Hadrian, who then occupied the papal throne, urgently besought Charlemagne for immediate aid. Charlemagne traversed the passes of the Alps, marched against Desiderius and laid siege to Pavia. In June, 774, the city was taken, Desiderius was led into captivity and the kingdom of the Langobards was destroyed. Charlemagne was afterwards crowned Emperor of the West and the temporal power of the papacy over a region in the middle of Italy

was permanently established (Abel, xxvii to xxix). Grievous consequences have followed the division of that peninsula into fragments which have continued almost to the present time; and the dream of Italian unity cherished by Rothari and Liutprand was not to be realized until the days of Victor Emmanuel, Cavour and Garibaldi.

APPENDIX I.

ETHNOLOGICAL STATUS OF THE LANGOBARDS.

Bruckner (Sprache der Langobarden, pp. 24 to 32) remarks that it is usual to consider the Langobards as a Suevian and therefore a High-German stock, but that Müllenhof in his discussion concerning the German peoples on the North and Baltic seas pronounces the Langobards to be Ingvæones[1] closely allied in saga and history with the peoples of the peninsula of Jutland. As evidence that the Langobards are Suevians, the statements of Tacitus and Ptolemy and the progressive change of mute consonants which has taken place in the Langobard language are adduced. But with Tacitus and Ptolemy many tribes were included under name of Suevi that were not of Suevian origin, for example the Angles who were Ingvæones, and with these authors the name Suevi possibly had a political meaning designating the great league under Marobod. That the Langobards in their language made the progressive change in mute consonants common to High-Germans, Bruckner does not consider conclusive, since even in their abodes on the lower Elbe they were neighbors of the Suevi, and after their migration to the south at the end of the third century they completely lost their connection with other Ingvæones and came into contact with numerous High-German races until at last in Italy they became the neighbors of the Bavarians and

[1] Tacitus (Germania, II) divides the West-German peoples into three principal classes, Ingvæones (or Ingævones), Hermiones and Istævones from the names of the three sons of Mannus from whom they were supposed to be descended. The Ingvæones lived by the sea (id.) and included the Low-German tribes (Zeuss, 70, 71).

the Alamanni. If, therefore, the same changes of language occurred in the Langobard as in the High-German dialects, this would not prove the Suevian origin of that people.

On the other hand, Langobard jurisprudence does not closely resemble that of the Franks and other High-German races, but forms a group with that of the Old-Saxons and Anglo-Saxons. A series of similar legal principles has been collected, the relationship between Langobard and Saxon law has been shown, as well as certain characteristic resemblances in Anglo-Saxon and Langobard constitutions and a great similarity between Langobard and Scandinavian laws and customs.

The vocabulary of the Langobard language shows numerous points of close resemblance with that of the Anglo-Saxon and the Old-Saxon, particularly in legal expressions, and the inflection agrees in the few points which we can recognize with certainty and indeed in some points in which the Old-High-German varies from the Old-Saxon and the Anglo-Saxon. Thus the Langobard shows the distinction between long and short syllabled *i* roots in the nominative singular and between short and long syllabled feminine *a* roots which latter distinction occurs elsewhere only in Anglo-Saxon.

There is also a remarkable resemblance in saga and myth. For example, the Langobards gave special reverence to Wotan and his wife Frea whose worship was indigenous to the people of North Germany and Scandinavia, but not to the High-German races. It is further known that the Anglo-Saxon hero Sceaf is named in the Widsith or Traveller's Song (see Hodgkin V, 176) as king of the Langobards, (Koegel, Geschichte d. d. Litteratur i, 104). Bruckner finds a resemblance in the names of the kings of the Langobards, as shown by the genealogy of Rothari, with those of the kings of the Anglo-Saxons; and he also refers to the fact that the old Langobard costumes were similar to those of the Anglo-Saxons (Paul IV, 22). For these reasons he believes that the language of the Langobards became

modified after their migration toward the south, and he places that people with the Anglo-Frisian group of Ingvæones.

Hodgkin (V, 152, 153) also speaks of the difference of opinion as to the ethnological position of the Langobards, mentions the contention of Bluhme for their Low-German character, and that of Schmidt (p. 74) for their High-German origin, and thus concludes: "We have in the Lombards, as I venture to think, a race originally of Low-German origin, coming from the coasts and islands of the Baltic, and closely akin to our own Anglo-Saxon forefathers. So far the case seems clear, and probably the Lombards spoke a pure Low-German dialect when they dwelt in Bardengau by the Elbe and when they fought with the Vandals. But by about the middle of the second century after Christ they gravitated towards the great Suevic confederation and visited, in its train, the lands of the Middle Danube, where (if I read their history aright) they remained more or less persistently for nearly four hundred years. This surely was a long enough time to give a Suevic, that is, a Swabian or High-German, character to their speech, sufficient time to change their B's into P's, their G's into K's, and their T's into Z's before they emerged into the world of book-writing and book-reading men."

APPENDIX II.

SOURCES OF PAUL'S HISTORY OF THE LANGOBARDS.

The overthrow of the Roman empire had as its necessary result that in the different political territories comprising it, the historical literature of one people was superimposed upon that of another. There were soon formed three principal groups, that of the Eastern empire, that of the Langobards and that of the Franks. Naturally these did not stand shut off and disconnected from each other but they were mutually intertwined. No author has worked together these three groups in connection with the history of the undivided Roman empire in so comprehensive a manner as Paul. In this way direction is given to the investigation of the sources of his history. These three masses are first to be separated (Mommsen, p. 56). We have therefore :

(a) Frankish sources,[1]
(b) Langobard sources,
(c) Roman sources.

(A) FRANKISH SOURCES.

For the Frankish tradition Paul has used almost exclusively in the first part of his narrative the "History of the Franks" by Gregory of Tours.[2] He omits the earlier portions of that

[1] These being the simplest are considered first. I follow Mommsen's order in this discussion.

[2] Georgius Florentius, who afterwards took the ecclesiastical name of Gregory, was born about 538 at Clermont Ferrand, Auvergne, France, became bishop of Tours 573, died 594 or 595. His history, written in most ungrammatical Latin, is of the highest authority in regard to Frankish affairs, for the period 561 to 591

history, but from the time of the immigration of the Langobards into Italy, which makes them the neighbors of the Franks, he uses the work in a general way and especially in regard to the relations between these two peoples, and he often transcribes it, as he himself says (III, 29), "almost in the same words". Paul's third book consists in greater part of such excerpts (Mommsen, 57).

From Gregory is taken (Jacobi, 33–37) the statement that Buccelinus (P. II, 2 ; Greg. III, 32) sent booty to Theudepert ; the account of the help which Alboin received from the Saxons for his expedition to Italy (P. II, 6 ; Gregory IV, 42–43 ; V, 15) ; the enumeration of the sons of Chlothar, who were reigning when the Langobards invaded Italy (P. II, 10 ; Greg. IV, 22), and the wars of Sigisbert with the Avars (id. IV, 23, 29) as well as his marriage with Brunicheldis, (id. IV, 27).

There are some mistakes in Paul's citations from Gregory. Thus Gregory mentions (IV, 41) the expedition of Alboin and adds that in seven years the conquest of the country was completed amid great devastation. Paul relates (II, 32) that this occured *in the seventh year* after Alboin's arrival (Jacobi, 34).

Gregory is the source also (Jacobi, 35) for Paul's account of St. Hospitius (P. III, 1, 2 : Greg. VI, 6) ; of the irruption of the Langobards and Saxons into Provence and their repulse by Mummulus (P. III, 3, 4 ; Greg. IV. 42) ; of the return of the Saxons to their former abodes (III, 5, 6 ; Greg. IV, 42) ; of their conflicts there and their overthrow by the Suevians (P. III, 7 ; Greg. V, 15) ; of the foray of the three Langobard dukes Amo, Zaban and Rodanus (P. III, 8 ; Greg. IV, 44) ; of the murder of Sigisbert I (P. III, 10 ; Greg. IV, 51, 52, V, 1) and the succession of Childebert II. Paul copies in

when it closes. He is less reliable as to external matters and his sketches of the Langobard campaigns in the south of Gaul are meager and unsatisfactory (Hodgkin, V, 179 to 181).

full detail from Gregory the account of Justin II and Tiberius II (P. III, 11, 12, 13, 15; Greg. IV, 40; V, 19, 30; VI, 2, 30) but upsets the chronology (see note P. III, 11) as he also does in transcribing the account of the subsidy paid by the emperor Maurice to Childepert for the invasion of Italy (P. III, 17, note, also P. III, 22; Greg. VI, 42; VIII, 18; See Jacobi, 35). The narrative of the irruption of a Frankish army into Italy in 588 and its overthrow (P. III, 29; Greg. IX, 25) and of the campaign of 590 (P. III, 31) also come from Gregory (X, 2, 3). As to the events in Spain and the relation between the Gothic and Frankish kingdoms resulting therefrom (III, 21) Paul treats Gregory's account as given too much in detail and uses Bede's Chronicle (AM. 4536) in part, instead[1] (See note supra, III, 21).

Paul also took from Gregory the account of the negotiations of king Authari (P. III, 28; Greg. IX, 25) for the sister of Childepert and how Childepert in violation of his promises gave her to the Catholic king of the Goths; also the fable of the dragon seen in the Tiber, the account of the seven-fold litany (P. III, 24; Greg. X, 1) and the embassy to Childepert (P. III, 35; Gregory X, 3) on the death of Authari. The use of Gregory as an authority here ceases (Jacobi, 37).

The history of Gregory of Tours comes down to 591 and after this period Paul's accounts of events in the Frankish kingdom become very scanty (Mommsen, p. 57). He adds a legend however, which he learned in France regarding king Gunthram which, as he says, was not included in the History of the Franks (III, 34; Momm., p. 57). There is considerable doubt what other Frankish sources, if any, he has used. An important authority at this period is the so-called Frede-

[1] Gregory's statement that Ingunde died in Africa (Greg., VIII, 21, 28) is to be preferred to that of Paul (III, 21) who says she died in Sicily (Jacobi, 36, 37).

garius, the name assigned to the unknown compiler or compilers of a work coming down to 642.[1] There is much difference of opinion whether Paul has used this authority. Points of resemblance appear between the two accounts; for instance, Paul's statement (II, 5) that the empress Sophia sent word to Narses that she would make him portion out the tasks of wool in the womens' chamber, to which Narses answered that he would prepare her such a web as she could not unravel in her lifetime. Fredegarius (Epit., ch. 65) relates a similar circumstance although the words are different. Moreover a story like that which Paul tells of the marriage of Theudelinda with Agilulf (III, 35) is related by Fredegarius (Chron., ch. 70) of Rothari and Gundeperga, the widow of Arioald. According to Fredegarius (ch. 51, 70, 71) Gundeperga had to suffer both from Arioald and from Rothari quite similar treatment as from Rodoald according to Paul. Fredegarius (Chron., ch. 34) says that Agilulf and Theudelinda had caused the murder of Gunduald from jealousy of his popularity, while Paul says (IV, 40) that the author of the deed is unknown. Pabst (Forsch., 428, n. 4) considers Paul's statement (IV., 41) that Adaloald was deposed after a ten years' reign on account of insanity, as a simple extract from the chronicle of Fredegarius (ch. 49). But Fredegarius says nothing of Theudelinda reigning with her son, although the Langobard Chronicler of the year 641 confirms this (Jacobi, 39).

[1] Fredegarius was apparently a Burgundian ecclesiastic who, in the first three books of his Chronicle, which began with the creation of the world, copied from Gregory's history, inserting long passages from Jerome, Hippolytus, Idatius and Isidore, but in the fourth book, which commences in the year 583, he writes as a more independent historian and continues the work of Gregory to a later period. He died probably before 663. From about 631 he speaks as a contemporary, though he is often ill-informed and inaccurate (Hodgkin, VI, 149).

Paul's accounts concerning Frankish history from 590 to 612 need not be traced to Fredegarius. Paul mentions a war about 593 (IV, 4) between Childepert II and the son of Hilperic, a bloody rain in the land of the Briones and a stream of blood in the Renus, all which are lacking in Fredegarius. So also the statement that Childepert made Tassilo king (IV, 7) in Bavaria. Paul relates the death of Childepert II and his wife by poison (IV, 11); Fredegarius (Chron., ch. 16) merely says Childepert died. Paul puts Childepert's death before that of Gunthram, which, according to Fredegarius, occurred four years earlier (Jacobi, 40). Fredegarius has no account of the invasion of the Avars into Thuringia mentioned by Paul (IV, 11); nor of the peace between Agilulf and Theoderic (P. IV, 13). When therefore Paul (IV, 15) speaks of the appearances in the heavens in almost the same words as Fredegarius (Chron., ch. 20) the resemblance is either accidental or is due to the use by these two authors of a common source, since Paul immediately adds an account of a war between Clothar and Theudepert, while according to Fredegarius, Clothar fought with the two sons of Childepert (Chron., ch. 20). Paul's statement (IV, 28) regarding the war is so indefinite that a conclusion that it was drawn from Fredegarius cannot be made. Paul also states quite briefly (IV, 40) Theudepert's death, while Fredegarius describes his overthrow in detail, but omits his death (ch. 38). All these occurrences took place between 590 and 618 and it does not speak in favor of the use of Fredegarius that Paul from that time to 663 omits all Frankish history, and first mentions, (V, 5) a legendary victory of Grimuald at Rivoli over a Frankish army from Provence, which the Frankish sources do not speak of.

As the result of his investigation Jacobi concludes (41) that if any use was made by Paul of Fredegarius it must be limited to the story of the flight of Cesara, the Persian queen, to

Constantinople (IV, 50; Fred. Chron., ch. 9) and that Paul's statements regarding Frankish history are to be traced, not to Fredegarius, but to Secundus.

Even as to Cesara the use of Fredegarius seems improbable, for while Paul makes the Persian king come to Constantinople for baptism (IV, 50), according to Fredegarius (Chron., ch. 9) the scene occurs at Antioch; Fredegarius gives the name of the Persian king as Anaulf, Paul does not name him; Fredegarius puts the whole occurrence in 588, about eight years earlier than Paul. Jacobi explains these discrepancies by adopting the view that Paul did not have the chronicle immediately before him, but inserted the story from memory or from a short extract. It seems more probable that here, as well as in matters relating to Frankish history, Paul and Fredegarius used more or less directly a number of the same traditions, and it cannot now be determined which of the two has followed the original sources of these traditions the more closely.

The immediate use of Fredegarius by Paul seems to be disproved by another circumstance: Fredegarius speaks of the murder of duke Taso as occasioned by king Arioald (Chron. 79) but Paul says (IV, 41) that no information concerning Arioald has come to him. How then can he have consulted Fredegarius?

Did Paul use any other Frankish sources? In his account (II, 10) of the wars of the Frankish king Sigisbert over the Avars, he mentions Turingia as the scene of the war and the Elbe as the place of Sigisbert's victory. These statements are not found in Gregory of Tours, from whom the rest of the account is taken, and they come (Jacobi, 34) from an unknown source, possibly Secundus. Besides, in Paul's legendary account (V, 5) of a victory of king Grimuald over the Franks at Rivoli, occurs an equally doubtful statement (V, 32 and note) of a league between Grimuald and king Dagipert.

Paul (VI, 16 and note) mentions St. Arnulf of Metz

with whose biography he was acquainted, but he incorrectly makes him contemporary with Cunincpert. The mention of Anschis (VI, 23) is erroneously put in the time of Aripert II (701 to 712). These things, as well as what Paul (VI, 37) says of Pipin II (that accompanied by a single follower, he attacked an enemy in his bedchamber beyond the Rhine), do not seem to Jacobi (p. 42) to indicate the immediate use of a written source. Then Paul mentions Pipin's wars with the Saxons and with Ratpot, king of the Frisians, speaks of Pipin's son Charles Martel, and later (VI, 42) mentions Charles' wars against his enemies, where an expression: "When he was held in prison he was set free by God's command and escaped," indicates the use of an annalistic source, and resembles a phrase in the Chronicon Moissiacense, a document of the early part of the ninth century (MG. SS. I, 290) that he "was held in prison but with God's help presently escaped." Also Paul correctly gives the battle of Vincy as the decisive victory over Raginfrid (Jacobi, 43). The statement that Charles Martel assigned Angers as a dwelling-place to Raginfrid (VI, 42) is peculiar to Paul, who differs in this from other sources. Paul's account (VI, 46) of the battle of Poictiers shows that he took it from some source which was related to the Chron. Moiss.[1] (MG. SS. I, 291), which also speaks of an alliance between Charles Martel and Eudo, while the annals of Metz (MG. SS. I, 325) say that Eudo called upon the Arabs. In the account of the battle of the little river Berre, the Chron. Moiss. (MG. SS. I, 292) states that Charles Martel, upon the news of the invasion into Provence, marched against the Saracens, drove them back over the Rhone, besieged Narbonne, and without raising the siege, repulsed by the river Berre a second army of Arabs approaching for the

[1] Waitz refers this to the Liber Pontificalis, (Gregory II), but other matters were added by Paul.

relief of the city; Paul (VI, 54) speaks of two different campaigns, in one of which Charles calls upon Liutprand for help. The statement that Charles sent his son Pipin to Liutprand for adoption (VI, 53) occurs only in Paul. This account, which is undoubtedly authentic, could hardly be traced, Jacobi thinks (p. 45), to a Frankish source, and he regards Paul himself as the authority.

The foregoing facts indicate that Paul used certain oral accounts and traditions he had learned when in France and that if he used any other written Frankish sources such use was sparing and fragmentary, and his authorities were far from reliable.

Gregory of Tours is, therefore, the only Frankish source of any importance used in the History of the Langobards.

(B) LANGOBARD SOURCES.

Paul's Langobard authorities, so far as known, are two-fold:

1. "The Origin of the Nation of Langobards" (Origo Gentis Langobardorum).

2. "The Acts of the Langobards," by Secundus of Trent (now lost).

1. *The Origin of the Nation of the Langobards.*

Paul twice refers to a prologue to the Edict of Rothari as one of the sources of his history (Jacobi, 4). In book I, chap. 21 he says: "At the same time Waccho fell upon the Suavi and subjected them to his authority. If any one may think that this is a lie and not the truth of the matter, let him read over the prologue of the edict which king Rothari composed (*relegat prologum edicti quem rex Rothari * * * composuit*[1]) of

[1] Bethmann refers *quem* to *edicti* following a grammatical mistake in the edict itself. Vesme refers it to *prologum* implying that Paul considered Rothari the author of the prologue (see Jacobi, 5).

the laws of the Langobards and he will find this written in almost all the manuscripts as we have inserted it in this little history." Also in book IV, chapter 42 he says: "It was now indeed the seventy-seventh year from the time when the Langobards had come into Italy as that king (Rothari) bore witness in a prologue to his Edict."

The last passage apparently refers to a short preface to Rothari's laws (Edicti Codices, MG. LL. IV, p. 1), although the 76th year and not the 77th is there mentioned. But this preface contains no account of the overthrow of the Suavi by Waccho. Bethmann (p. 351 *et seq.*), Baude di Vesme (Edicta Regum Langobardorum Aug. Taur. 1855, p. LXXI; see Jacobi, 4, 5) and others therefore believe that Paul's reference must be attributed to a short history of the Origin of the Nation of the Langobards contained in three manuscripts (of Modena, Madrid and La Cava[1]) and in a fourth form greatly interpolated in the so-called Chronicon Gothanum (Jacobi, 4). A translation of the Origo as contained in these three MSS. is here given:[2]

[1] These manuscripts are described in Bethmann, 356 to 360. There is much difference of opinion as to which is the best. Bruckner (Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, vol. 34, pt. 1, p. 49, note) considers the Modena more ancient and original than the Madrid. Also Schmidt (9) who among many reasons refers to the correct spelling of Winniles, Waltari, Walderada instead of Guinniles, Gualtari, Gualderada. Mommsen speaks of the Madrid and LaCava MSS. as the two best (p. 57, note) but says the choice of the reading is free and that sometimes the Modena is more correct (id., 60, note 2). The Madrid MSS. closed A. D. 671, the Modena A. D. 668, and Waitz has shown that in so far the latter stood nearer the original form (id.).

[2] I follow the edition of Waitz in Monumenta Germaniae Historica—Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum, pp. 1–6.

I. There is an island[1] that is called Scadanan,[2] which is interpreted "destruction,"[3] in the regions of the north, where many people dwell. Among these there was a small people that was called the Winniles. And with them was a woman, Gambara by name, and she had two sons. Ybor was the name of one and Agio the name of the other. They, with their mother, Gambara by name, held the sovereignty over the Winniles. Then the leaders of the Wandals, that is, Ambri and Assi, moved with their army, and said to the Winniles: "Either pay us tributes or prepare yourselves for battle and fight with us." Then answered Ybor and Agio, with their mother Gambara: "It is better for us to make ready the battle than to pay tributes to the Wandals." Then Ambri and Assi, that is, the leaders of the Wandals, asked Godan that he should give them the victory over the Winniles. Godan answered, saying: "Whom I shall first see when at sunrise, to them will I give the victory." At that time Gambara with her two sons, that is, Ybor and Agio, who were chiefs over the Winniles, besought Frea, the wife of Godan, to be propitious to the Winnilis. Then Frea gave counsel that at sunrise the Winniles should come, and that their women, with their hair let down around the face in the likeness of a beard, should also come with their husbands. Then when it became bright, while the sun was rising, Frea, the wife of Godan, turned around the bed where her husband was lying and put his face toward the east and awakened him. And he, looking at them, saw the Winniles and their women having their hair let down around the face. And he says, "Who are those Long-beards?" And Frea said to Godan, "As you have given them a name,

[1] The Madrid and La Cava manuscripts in place of "There is an island" have "That is under the consul" which is evidently a corruption (see Mommsen, p. 60, note 2).

[2] "Scadan" says the Modena MS., "Scandanan," the La Cava MS.

[3] *Exscidia* (Modena MSS.). A derivation pointing to the Gothic word *skattigan*, to injure, German *Schaden*, English *scathe* (Hodg., VI, 90). Mommsen considers this a later interpolation to be rejected (p. 60, note 3).

give them also the victory." And he gave them the victory, so that they should defend themselves according to his counsel and obtain the victory. From that time the Winniles were called Langobards.

II. And the Langobards moved thence and came to Golaida and afterwards they occupied the aldionates of Anthaib and Bainaib and also Burgundaib. And it is said that they made for themselves a king, Agilmund by name, the son of Agio, of the race of Gugingus. And after him reigned Laiamicho of the race of Gugingus.[1] And after him reigned Lethuc and it is said that he reigned about forty years. And after him reigned Aldihoc the son of Lethuc. And after him reigned Godehoc.

III. At that time king Audoachari went forth from Ravenna with the army of the Alani and came into Rugiland and fought with the Rugians and killed Theuvane king of the Rugians, and led many captives with him into Italy. Then the Langobards departed from their own territories and dwelt some years in Rugiland.

IV. Claffo, the son of Godehoc reigned after him. And after him reigned Tato the son of Claffo. The Langobards settled three years in the fields of Feld. Tato fought with Rodolf king of the Heruli and killed him and carried off his banner (*vando*) and helmet. After him the Heruli had no kingly office. And Wacho the son of Unichis killed king Tato his paternal uncle together with Zuchilo. And Wacho fought, and Ildichis the son of Tato fought, and Ildichis fled to the Gippidi where he died. And to avenge his wrong the Gypidis made war with the Langobards. At this time Wacho bent the Suabians under the dominion of the Langobards. Wacho had three wives: (first) Raicunda, daughter of Fisud king of the Turingi. After her he took as his wife Austrigusa a girl of the Gippidi.[2] And Wacho had from Austrigusa two daughters; the name of one was Wisigarda whom he gave in marriage to

[1] The words "Of the race of Gugingus" are omitted in the Modena MSS. and Mommsen regards them (p. 68) as an interpolation (see also Brückner Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, p. 56).

[2] Jacobi, 20, note 4.

Theudipert king[1] of the Franks, and the name of the second was Walderada whom Scusuald king of the Franks had as his wife, but having her in hatred he transferred her to Garipald for a wife. He had as his third wife the daughter of the king of the Heruli, Silinga by name. From her he had a son, Waltari by name. Wacho died and his son Waltari reigned seven years without posterity.[2] These were all Lethinges.

V. And after Waltari, reigned Auduin.[3] He led the Langobards into Pannonia. And there reigned after him Albuin, his son, whose mother is Rodelenda. At that time Albuin fought with the king of the Gippidi, Cunimund by name, and Cunimund died in that battle and the Gippidi were subjugated. Albuin took as his wife Cunimund's daughter Rosemund, whom he had captured as booty, since his wife Flutsuinda, who was the daughter of Flothar, king of the Franks, had already died. From her he had a daughter by name Albsuinda. And the Langobards dwelt forty-two years[4] in Pannonia. This Albuin led into Italy the Langobards who were invited by Narses (chief) of the secretaries. And Albuin, king of the Langobards, moved out of Pannonia in the month of April after[5] Easter in the first indiction. In the second indiction, indeed, they began to plunder in Italy, but in the third indiction he became master of Italy. Albuin reigned in Italy three years, and was killed in Verona in the palace by Rosemund his wife and Hilmichis upon the advice of Peritheo. Hilmichis wished to be king and could not because the Langobards wanted to slay him. Then Rosemund sent word to the prefect Longinus that he should receive her in Ravenna. When Longinus presently heard this he rejoiced; he sent a ship of the public service and they brought Rosemund and Hilmichis and Albsuinda, king Albuin's daughter, and con-

[1] Read *regi* with Modena MS. in place of *regis*.

[2] "*Farigaidus*" (Bruckner, pp. 19, 203).

[3] "Of the stock of Gausus" says the list of kings in Rothari's Prologue (Mon. Germ. Hist. Leges, IV, 2).

[4] The Modena MS. says twelve. Neither number is correct. They probably remained there about twenty-two years.

[5] *A Pascha*, (Waitz, p. II, 7, note.)

ducted all the treasures of the Langobards with them to Ravenna. Then the prefect Longinus began to persuade Rosemund to kill Hilmichis and become the wife of Longinus. Having given ear to his counsel, she mixed poison and, after the bath, gave it to him (Hilmichis) to drink in a goblet.[1] But when Hilmichis had drunk, he knew that he had drunk something pernicious. He commanded that Rosemund herself should drink, although unwilling, and they both died. Then the prefect Longinus took the treasure of the Langobards and commanded Albsuinda, the daughter of king Albuin, to be put in a ship, and sent her over to Constantinople to the emperor.

VI. The rest of the Langobards set over themselves a king named Cleph, of the stock of Beleos, and Cleph reigned two years and died. And the dukes of the Langobards administered justice for twelve years and after these things they set up over themselves a king named Autari, the son of Cleph. And Autari took as his wife Theudelenda, a daughter of Garipald and of Walderada from Bavaria. And with Theudelenda came her brother named Gundoald, and king Autari appointed him duke in the city of Asta. And Autari reigned seven years. And Acquo,[2] the Thuringian duke,[3] departed from Turin and united himself with queen Theudelenda and became king of the Langobards. And he killed his rebel dukes Zangrolf of Verona, Mimulf of the island of St. Julian and Gaidulf of Bergamo, and others who were rebels. And Acquo begot of Theudelenda a daughter, Gunperga[4] by name. And Acquo reigned six years, and after him Aroal reigned twelve years.[5]

[1] Thus Abel translates *in caldo* (p. 6), or perhaps it is "In a hot potion."

[2] Aggo in Modena MSS.

[3] *Turingus*. Perhaps this merely means that he was duke of Turin. "Of the stock of Anawas" adds the Prologue to Rothari's Edict (Mon. Germ. Hist. Leges, Vol. IV, p. 2).

[4] "And a son named Adwald" adds the Modena MSS.

[5] In the Prologue, "Arioald of the race of Caupus." The text here seems greatly corrupted. Paul and the Chronicon Gothanum give Agilulf's reign at 25 years and that of his son Adalwald (here omitted) at 10 years.

And after him reigned Rothari, of the race of Arodus, and he destroyed the city and fortresses of the Romans which were around the coasts from the neighborhood of Luna[1] up to the land of the Franks and in the east up to Ubitergium (Oderzo). And he fought near the river Scultenna,[2] and there fell on the side of the Romans the number of eight thousand.

VII. And Rothari reigned seventeen years. And after him reigned Aripert nine years. And after him reigned Grimoald.[3] At this time the emperor Constantine departed from Constantinople and came into the territories of Campania and turned back to Sicily and was killed by his own people. And Grimoald reigned nine years, and after him Berthari reigned.[4]

Bluhme says (Mon. Germ. Hist. Leges, IV, p. 646, note) that several reasons indicate that the text of this Origo was written when Berthari (Perctarit) was king. Baude di Vesme attributes it to Rothari's time, and believes that the final statements were subsequent additions. Bethmann (p. 414) attributes it to the seventh year of the reign of Grimoald. (See also Jacobi, 8, 9.)

Of the fourth text, the *Chronicon Gothanum*, Hodgkin remarks (V, 69), "To one manuscript of the Lombard laws, that now preserved in the ducal library of Gotha, there is prefixed an introduction on the history of the Lombards which evidently shows a certain affinity to the Origo, but is of later date, and contains some curious additions as to the early migrations of the race. It continues the history down to the time of Charles the Great, and was probably written under his son Pipin, (A. D. 807–810.) (See also Schmidt, 10.) The author is a strongly-pronounced Christian, and loves to support his statements by quotations from Scripture. He is, however,

[1] Northwest of Lucca.

[2] In Modena.

[3] The Modena MSS. adds "seventeen years."

[4] The Modena MSS. omits the sentence regarding Berthari.

very imperfectly informed as to early Lombard history; he wrote, as will be seen, two hundred and fifty years after the invasion, and it does not seem wise to place much dependence on his statements where they differ from those of the Origo."

The question what Paul took from the Origo has been exhaustively discussed, first, in Jacobi's monograph, "The Sources of Paul the Deacon's History of the Langobards" (Halle, 1877), and, secondly, in an article by Theodore Mommsen published in the Neues Archiv, Vol. V, 53, *et seq.* (1879). Let us consider these discussions in their order.

According to Jacobi (p. 10) Paul took from the Origo, first, the account of the origin of the Langobards in the North. With the aid of Pliny, he identified Scadan or Scadanan (I, 2; Pliny, Nat. Hist., IV, 27 [13]) with Scadinavia. The description he gives of that "island" may be from an oral account. The words of the Origo, "In the regions of the north where many people dwell," give occasion for Paul's first chapter, showing the advantage of northern lands for the development of powerful peoples. In this he garnished his account from Isidore, as will hereafter appear.

Paul then causes the Langobards to come forth from Scadinavia (I, 3) on account of over-population, "although other causes are asserted for their emigration." The Origo assigns no cause, but the Chronicon Gothanum says in its confused way, "The ancient ancestors of the Langobards assert from their parent Gambara for what purpose was their departure or emigration," etc. They came first to Scoringa (I, 7), where they remained a long time. Here they were attacked by the Wandals under Ambri and Assi. Now Paul (I, 7 and 8), following the Origo, relates the saga by which the victory was accorded to them by Wotan with Frea's help and they acquired the name of Langobards. Jacobi believes (p. 13) that the name Scoringa was dropped from the text of the Origo as it has come down to us, and that the derivation of the name of

the Langobards from their method of wearing their hair is also drawn from some earlier copy of the Origo, although this addition is lacking in the three manuscripts. The Chronicon Gothanum states that they changed their name to Langobards "because their beard was long and never shaved." These last words come from Isidore (Etymology, IX, 2, 94), but Jacobi (13) considers it probable that they were derived therefrom through the Origo, since there is found elsewhere in the Origo traces of the use of Isidore (Jacobi, 14).

The Langobards obtain the victory over the Vandals (I, 10) but a famine soon breaks out in Scoringa and they resolve to emigrate (I, 11, 12) to Mauringa. But they must pass through the territory of the Assipitti who refuse them transit. By cunning the Langobards divert a threatened attack, and a duel between a champion of the Assipitti and a Langobard slave opens the way to them. To increase the number of men capable of bearing arms they bestow freedom upon many of their slaves by the ancient symbol of the arrow (See Hammerstein, Bardengau, 65). The Origo contains nothing of all this (Jacobi, 15).

The Origo knows nothing of the famine which compelled the people to emigrate from Scoringa. Jacobi considers it incredible that Paul arbitrarily inserted Scoringa and Mauringa, and he believes that these names were in the original copy of the Origo which Paul used.

According to Jacobi (16), Vesme's view that everything Paul did not borrow from the Origo and Gregory of Tours regarding the early history of his people comes from the lost work of Secundus, has been refuted by Waitz (Götting gel. Anz. 1856 p. 1587). Everything which can be traced with certainty to Secundus indicates that the lost work of that author had an annalistic form.

The statements of the wandering from Mauringa to Vurgundaib, Paul takes almost word for word (I, 13) from the

Origo. His account of the elevation of king Agelmund to the throne (I, 14) and the thirty-three-year reign of that monarch does not vary from his copy, but the motive for the selection of a king appears to be Paul's own addition. It is the same which was attributed to the Israelites when Saul was made their king (I Samuel VIII, 5) "Now make us a king to judge us like all the nations" (Jacobi, 17).

Paul then mentions Lamissio as the second king (P. I, 17) but relates much more than stands in the Origo which simply declares, "After Agilmund, reigned Laiamicho of the race of Gugingus." It appears to Jacobi that all this addition comes from another source, since departing from the Origo, Lamissio's monstrous birth and rescue from the pond by king Agelmund is stated (I, 15) while his six brothers are drowned, and afterwards the Langobards pass over a river and fight with the Amazons. Neither can the defeat of the Langobards by the Bulgarians nor the liberation of the people through Lamissio's boldness be traced to the Origo, but Paul returns to that account when he mentions the succession of king Lethu and the two following kings (chap. 18), and the taking possession of Rugiland by the Langobards (Paul, ch. 19, Jacobi, p. 19). This short account of the Origo, Paul amplifies with additions from Eugippius Life of St. Severinus and from the Chronicle of Jordanis. According to the Origo he then mentions the death of Godeoc, the succession of Claffo and Tato, the emigration of the Langobards from Rugiland, their three years stay in the open "feld," the war of Tato with Rodolf, king of the Heroli, the overthrow of the latter and the capture of his banner and his helmet (ch. 20). On the other hand Paul gives as the cause of the war the murder of Rodolf's brother at the instigation of Rumetruda and describes the fight in detail from an unknown source and he then comes back to the Origo with the statement that Tato carried off the standard of Rodolf. Here two sources can clearly be distinguished (Jacobi, 20). Tato's

overthrow by Waccho (whom Paul erroneously makes the son of Zuchilo) ; Waccho's contest with Hildechis ; the flight of the latter to the Gepidae ; the enmity thereafter between the two peoples and the subjugation of the Suevi by Waccho are reported by Paul from the Origo without variation. From the same source he enumerates the three wives of Waccho and their children, but with Ranicunda he leaves out the name of her father. He calls Austrigusa a daughter of the king of the Gepidae (I, 21), departing from the Origo which called her a girl of the Gepidae. Waltari, Waccho's son is called in the Origo *farigaidus*, "without descendants" an adjective lacking in Paul (Jacobi, 21). Audoin's expedition to Pannonia (I, 22) and the name of his wife Rodelinda (I, 27) are taken from the Origo.[1] On the other hand Paul introduces from another source the account (I, 23–24) of the duel of Alboin with Turismod the son of Turisind and the expedition to the latter king to get his arms. Paul takes from the Origo the account of Alboin's first marriage with Chlotsuinda ; the battle with the Gepidae and the marriage of Alboin with Rosemund (I, 27), but he makes two additions ; one that Alboin found support from the Avars and the other that the skull of Cunimund was used as a drinking-cup. Since Paul says (II, 28) he saw this drinking vessel in the hand of king Ratchis, perhaps that king is our author's authority. Menander (Exc. legatt, p. 303, 304, Bonn. ed.) confirms the statement that the Langobards had the help of the Avars (Jacobi, 22). Paul now follows other sources and returns to the Origo when he states that Alboin by treaty relinquished Pannonia to the Avars (II, 7). The three manuscrips of LaCava, Madrid

[1] The Chronicon Gothanum calls Audoin's mother "Menia the wife of king Pissa," and speaks of him as of the race of Gausus (M. G. LL., IV, 644). Paul and the Origo make no mention of the matter.

and Modena here give evidence of an important omission. The Chronicon Gothanum alone has kept the account of this matter[1] and Jacobi considers that from this place on it gives us the better text. The story that Narses called the Langobards into the country occurs in the Origo, but Paul here gives the preference to another and more complete source, the Liber Pontificalis. On the other hand he gives from the Origo (and incorrectly) the stay of the Langobards in Pannonia as forty-two years, also the date of their emigration as the second of April; the fact that Easter fell upon the first of April in the year 568 is correctly reckoned up by Paul himself (II, 7). The mention of the year of our Lord probably comes from another source, perhaps Secundus.

The account of Alboin's murder in Verona (II, 28) is traceable in some features to the Origo, but Paul relates in detail the adultery of Rosemund on which the Origo is silent but which the Langobard chronicle of the year 641 confirms. Whence Paul got his account can scarcely be determined (Jacobi, 22). The statement of Helmechis' vain attempt to obtain the crown, his flight with Rosemund, Albsuinda and the royal treasure to Ravenna, and the fate which there overtook the conspirators (II, 29) were taken by Paul from the Origo, also the statement that Albsuinda was sent to Constantinople with the treasure (II, 30). We next meet with the Origo in the execution of the rebellious dukes Mimulf (IV, 3),

[1] It states "At this time when the Langobards began to go out of Pannonia, the Avars then made an agreement and treaty of friendship with those Langobards and a document of writing, that up to two hundred years if they should again seek Pannonia, they (the Avars) would relinquish to their side that land without any wars of contest and would be ready for their assistance in Italy to which they had set out, up to full two hundred years (M. G. LL., IV, p. 644).

Zangrulf and Gaidulf (IV, 13), but the repeated rebellions of the latter, Paul took from another source. He appears to have inserted from the Origo the statement that Gunduald was duke of Asti (IV, 40), as well as the account of the conquests of Rothari (IV, 45) and his victory at the Scultenna.

The foregoing is Jacobi's opinion as to the use of the Origo.

According to Mommsen's view (Neues Archiv, V, 58) Paul had before him a source that was far more copious, and from the condensed Origo as we have it and Paul's narrative taken together, there can be formed a combination nearer the original than either.[1] Even in Paul's time there were manuscripts of the laws of the Langobards which did not contain the Origo, and of the numerous ones which have come down to us only three, all of the 10th and 11th century, have the Origo, and that in different forms, besides the Chronicon Gothanum from a single manuscript of the 11th century, with still greater variations; Mommsen therefore considers it probable that at a later time this historical introduction to Rothari's laws, where not omitted, was adopted only in abbreviated form (p. 59). He adds that the Chronicon Gothanum contains certain statements not found in the other three manuscripts, but which certainly belong to the original, and some of which are also found in Paul. Among these is the statement that when the Langobards, before their emigration from Pannonia, turned over all their territory to the Avars, the latter agreed to evacuate it if the Langobards should be driven from Italy (I, 27; II, 7), and that no other explanation is possible, except that the Origo omitted this account. Mommsen here compares the opening

[1] Bethmann also says the Chronicon Gothanum sometimes contains matters lacking in the Origo but which are found in Paul who did not use the Chronicon Gothanum, and that these things must have existed in the common source of both the Origo and Chronicon Gothanum (p. 364).

statements of the Origo with Paul (I, 2 and 3) and adds (p. 63) that the account of the over-population of Scadinavia, the division of its inhabitants into three parts and the emigration of one-third is found only with Paul, although its saga-like form indicates that it is borrowed from the Origo in which the abbreviated words "among these (*inter quos*) was a small people that was called the Winnilis" represent this account. The remark of Paul, that besides over-population other causes of their emigration are also asserted, points to the fact that the complete Origo added something further, perhaps of floods or failure of crops or similar afflictions.[1]

Mommsen (p. 64) here compares the accounts in the Origo and in Paul regarding the origin of the name of the Langobards and the victory given to the Winnili by Wotan. He notes (p. 65) that Scoringa is mentioned only by Paul, and that in the Origo no place is assigned to the battle, and he adds; "That this is the result of an abbreviation appears clearly from the expression which follows, 'And the Langobards moved *thence* and came into Golaida,' while no place is mentioned previously except Scadanan, and the word 'thence' is therefore without relation to anything which precedes. The account of the famine (p. 66) is found only in Paul; also the opposition of the Assipitti, the story of the men with the dogs' heads, of the duel of the Langobard slave with the champion of the Assipitti, of emancipation by the arrow, and finally of the immigration into Mauringa. For none of these legends is there any statement which explains their origin, and Mommsen insists that they fit excellently into the Origo. He adds:

[1] May not the reason given in the Chronicon Gothanum (M. G. LL., IV, 641), that "the people were moved, not by necessity or hardness of heart, or oppression of the poor, but that they should attain salvation from on high," be one of the causes to which Paul refers (Schmidt Neues Archiv, XIII, 392, note 1)?

"With the emigration into Golaida both the accounts again come together. The Origo says: 'And the Langobards moved *thence* and came into Golaida, and afterwards they possessed the aldionates of Anthaib and Bainaib, and also Burgundaib.' Paul says (I, 13): 'Then the Langobards went forth from Mauringa and arrived in Golanda, where, having remained some time, they are afterwards said to have possessed for some years Anthab, Banthab and also Vurgundaib, which we can consider are names of districts (cantons) or of some kinds of places.' Here it appears clearly that the Origo is abbreviated; that the four oldest abodes of the Langobards, Scadinavia, Scoringa, Mauringa and Golanda, belong to a connected legend will hardly be contested, but as the Origo now stands, the Winniles come from Scadanan to Golaida, and of their four abodes the second and third are lacking, although in the word 'thence' the trace of an intermediate station is seen" (p. 67).

"The account (p. 68) of the ignoble birth of the second king Lamissio * * * is lacking in the Origo, but Bethmann says, incorrectly (Waitz, note 1, 15), that it contradicts the Origo. The words 'of the race of Gugingus' which are added both in the Origo and Paul to the name of the first king (Agelmund) are added to that of the second (Lamissio) only in one edition of the Origo,[1] and are a palpable interpolation, since the name of the family is not given in the case of any later king, and in the list of kings incorporated in Rothari's laws the family name is affixed only in the case of the first king."

Mommsen (p. 71) observes that in the account of Rosemund and Alboin the condensation in the Origo is again evident, that it is improbable that a story-teller who reports with such particularity how Frea turned around her husband's bed should have left out of the Rosemund story the goblet made of the

[1] That of the La Cava and Madrid MSS. which are closely allied. They are omitted in the Modena MS.

king's skull, but that with epitomizers everything is possible, and not the least to leave out the point of the story. "It is not clear," he adds, "how the rôles in this tragedy were distributed. According to the Origo, Alboin was killed by Rosemund and Helmechis by the counsel of Peredeo. According to Paul, Helmechis, the armor-bearer of the king, procures Peredeo as an unwilling confederate, and it is then said, 'According to the counsel of Peredeo, she, more cruel than any beast, introduced the murderer Helmechis.'"

"It looks as if Paul had not properly understood his copy, for which the latter was in fault, and therefore wrote something that makes no clear sense."[1]

Mommsen thus continues (p. 72). "Waitz adopts for the Langobardic sections of Paul's history a triple source; first, the Origo; second, another narrative which related divers matters concerning the abodes and migration of that people, (the contradictions between which two sources Paul either does not notice or has not considered worthy of regard), and finally the writing of Secundus concerning the acts of the Langobards. That the first two sources are rather to be combined into one has been shown in the previous argument. Of contradictions I see simply nothing, since the discrepancies in regard to the origin of Lamissio and the murder of Alboin depend respectively upon a mistake of the text and an erroneous interpretation; but the harmonizing of both versions appears to me easy and natural."

"It is quite different with the writing of Secundus of Trent. Paul mentions this work twice (III, 29; IV, 40) under the title 'The Acts of the Langobards.' A series of statements

[1] Does it not rather look as if he took his account from two contradictory sources which he tried to reconcile in his usual inconclusive way just as he made Odoacar king of part of the Rugians (I, 19) at a time when he was fighting against the Rugians?

can be traced with complete certainty to this authority, partly on account of personal references and partly on account of the places where they occurred. This has often been done, and was done in a satisfactory way by Jacobi (p. 65 et seq.). * * * If it is to be accepted with good reason that the historical accounts in Paul for the time before 612, so far as they depend upon a Langobard source, ought to be traced to Secundus, it appears all the more difficult to determine the relation of Secundus to the Origo. It is pure caprice to attribute with Jacobi the accounts which bear a legendary character to the Origo and contemporaneous statements to Secundus. It is a peculiarity of the earlier Langobard history to mingle truth and poetry indistinguishably even in matters which are not properly legendary, as in the case of Rosemund's crime and Authari's wooing. On the one hand the Origo included the later times of Langobard history, and on the other, the title of Secundus' book is opposed to the idea that he wrote only the history of his own time (p. 73). * * * Besides, in the occurences under Agilulf (A. D. 590 to 616) which properly fall in the time of Secundus, the close relationship between the Origo and Paul is still preserved. Moreover, the early Langobard tradition in Paul has a homogeneous character and there is scarcely room in it for more than one authority."

"There is only one way out of this embarrassment, but nothing hinders us from taking it. Is it not evident that the Origo Gentis Langobardorum is nothing but an extract from the writing of Secundus of Trent furnished with a short continuation? Then everything explains itself simply. The Origo was prefixed as an historical introduction to the laws of the Langobards, possibly upon their issue in 643, or probably in 668. How should the man who did this have been ignorant of the chronicle of Secundus of Trent which had been brought down to 612? Nothing is more probable than that Secundus was used for this purpose and that the editor limited himself

to continuing it up to the time he wrote. That Paul cited the book as the Prologue of the Edict of king Rothari, according to its official position, when he wanted to defend himself against the reproach of the falsification of history and that he elsewhere called it the "Acts of the Langobards" of Secundus is not opposed to this (?). Once admit that the historical work was a component part of the book of laws as Paul at least considered it, and nothing can be objected to both these designations (p. 74)."

Schmidt (Neues Archiv, 13, p. 391) supports Mommsen's contention that the copy of the Origo from which Paul took his extracts was more extensive than the manuscripts which have come down to us. He remarks that as Paul did not find the account of the subjugation of the Suevi by king Waccho in *all* his copies, abbreviated editions must have been before him, and the statements in Paul's history which are not in our present texts of the Origo must be traced to some earlier and fuller edition of that work.[1] (p. 392 *et seq.*)

But Schmidt considers Mommsen's view, that this original Origo was identical with Secundus, as not tenable and believes with Jacobi that the latter work was more in the nature of annals (p. 394). Ebert also (Litteratur des Mittelalters, II, 46, note 1) insists that the book from which Mommsen declares Paul had taken so much, could not be the "succinct little history" which Paul described in book IV, chapter 40.

Waitz (Neues Archiv, Vol. V, page 421) thus answers Mommsen's contention: "For myself I can in no way consider probable the view that the so-called Origo, the Chronicon Gothanum and Paul have drawn from a common source, and

[1] The totally varying statements of the time of Agilulf's reign, six years according to the Origo and twenty-five, according to Paul are due to the great corruption of the manuscripts in this place (compare the various readings in Waitz's ed.).

that their contents are to be traced back in great part to the lost book of Secundus. I will never convince myself that Paul has cited the same work at one time, as 'The Acts of the Langobards,' of this author and at another time as a prologue to an edict. * * * I also see no ground whatever to consider the Origo an extract from a greater work, an extract which according to Mommsen's view must have simply omitted important occasions in the History of the Langobards. In the words which are introduced as a proof or mark of the abbreviation, 'And the Langobards moved thence,' the word 'thence' relates to Scadinavia or Scadanan. The Origo gives us the tradition in regard to the naming of the Langobards in naïve originality. It lets the people receive their name in the place where their first home was, and it inquires little whether there were Wandals there or not. I can only consider it one of the arbitrary combinations of Paul when he puts the story during the emigration to the land of Scoringa. * * *

"Mommsen seeks to remove a contradiction between the statement of the Origo regarding the ancestry of Laiamicho and the detailed narrative given by Paul of the birth of Lamissio, as the king is here called, by removing the words 'from the race of Gugingus' with one manuscript out of the text. But this manuscript (p. 423), or as Mommsen writes it, this recension is troubled with mistakes of all kinds, and it must appear unjustified to give it the preference in one place where it seems to fit. The same words are also left out in the manuscript immediately before, with reference to Agelmund, and only later are restored to the margin, which can easily have been forgotten the second time. We cannot therefore speak here of an erroneous text."

As to Paul's mistaken interpretation of the account of Alboin's murder, which Mommsen thinks is due to the fault in the source from which he took the account, Waitz remarks:

"It constantly appears to me, on the other hand, that he has transcribed his copy, especially in the Origo, only too faithfully,[1] without remarking that the detailed narrative which he previously followed, divides the roles otherwise—assigns the advice to Helmechis and the act to Peredeo."

An interesting light is now thrown upon this discussion by the skillful efforts of Bruckner and others to trace the Origo to a Langobard epic song. Bruckner (Sprache der Langobarden, p. 17 *et seq.*) observes that although no remnant of Langobard poetry has come down to us in its original form, yet there is evidence that such poetry existed, and certain features in the Origo as preserved in the Latin language indicate that its statements were taken at least in part from a Langobard poem. In the first place, the word *farigaidus*,[2] "without posterity," is a sure proof that the author made use of a German source. In the next place, the alliteration in the first chapters which was noticed by Müllenhoff (Beowulf, 101), Schmidt (p. 16) and Koegel (I, 107) is made apparent by the re-translation into Old-German of portions of the first four chapters. Bruckner accordingly gives a number of such re-translations, showing alliteration. His view was contested by Much (Götting gel. Anzeiger, 1896, p. 892) and also by Kraus (Zeitschrift für die osterreichischen Gymnasien, 1896, Vol. 47, pp. 313, 314) who showed the objections to such re-translations and claimed that alliterative proper names did not prove that a song was the immediate source from which

[1] Paul (II, 28), "Rosemund * * * * according to the advice of Peredeo brought in the murderer Helmichis." Origo, "He was killed in Verona in the palace by Hilmichis and Rosemund his wife upon the advice of Peritheo."

[2] Or *fargaetum* as the Chronicon Gothanum has it. Bethmann considers this word related to the modern German *vergessen*, "forgotten" (M. G., Script. Rerum Langob., p. 4), and thinks it is a mere author's note of something forgotten.

the Latin account was taken. By way of illustration Kraus translated into German a passage taken haphazard from Livy, and the translation certainly showed a goodly number of alliterative words. Kraus therefore insisted that the traces of alliteration must be much more numerous and evident than those given by Bruckner to exclude the suspicion of accident. Bruckner then, in an article in the "Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum (vol. 43, part I, p. 47), answers these criticisms.

He treats the Origo, not as a whole, but in single parts separated from each other (p. 48). The first chapter tells how the Wandals and Winnili encounter each other ready for battle; how Frea interferes in a cunning manner in favor of the Winnili, and how Wotan then gave to them the name of Langobards, and the victory over their enemies. "It is hard to see" says Bruckner "how the legend of the origin of this people, in which myth and history appear closely united, could have been transmitted to subsequent generations otherwise than in an epic song. Original nationality expresses itself in the whole delightful and simple narrative. Learned accessories are wholly absent. We have in this first chapter an old saga of the people in unadulterated form. * * * The conduct of Frea toward Godan reminds one of that of Hera toward Zeus as described in the Iliad[1] (Book 14, line 153). In the songs of the Edda similar contrivances are related of the gods. * * *

"The account of the Origo shows the essential characteristics of an epic song. The action is related in a concise but powerful manner, mostly in the shape of a dialogue, and al-

[1] After the Trojans under the guidance of Zeus had attacked the Greeks by their swift ships, and were defeating them, Hera borrowed the girdle of Aphrodite, secured the aid of Sleep, and beguiled Zeus into a deep slumber, whereupon the Greeks, aided by Poseidon, defeated the Trojans and drove them back.

though the account is relatively a short one, the repetitions characteristic of epic poetry are not lacking. For example, 'Then the leaders of the Wandals, Ambri and Assi moved' and shortly afterwards 'Then Ambri and Assi, that is the leaders of the Wandals.' Again 'They besought Frea, the wife of Godan' and a few lines later 'Frea the wife of Godan turned the bed around.' It corresponds moreover with the epic style that the counsel which Frea gives the Winniles and its results are related with the same expressions almost word for word. 'Then Frea gave the advice that when the sun rose the Winniles should come, and that their women, with their hair let down around the face, etc.' and again, 'And he (Godan), looking upon them, saw the Winniles and their women with their hair let down around the face.' According to the custom of epic poetry of seizing only the principal events of the action, the carrying out of this counsel on the part of the Winniles is not related of itself, but after the advice is given them it is straightway shown how Godan sees them, together with their women, on awakening." * * *

"In the Origo, on account of the simple mode of presentation, the traces of alliteration are so clear and extensive as to exclude the possibility that they are due to accident. One peculiarity, which shows an original composition in verse, is that the action moves in strikingly short sentences or in sharply marked divisions of sentences which correspond in length to a half verse. This circumstance is all the more important when the different character of the construction of sentences in Latin is considered, and this division of verse results naturally and without any effort to produce it."

Bruckner now attempts the work of reconstructing the Origo in the form of a German song. He makes no effort to use any conjectural inflected forms, but puts the substantive in the nominative and the verb in the infinitive, and thus reconstructs metrically the greater part of the first chapter. There are a

few passages that cannot be reproduced in alliterative verse if no change is made, and some of his proposed translations may be questioned, but he insists there is enough remaining to show the epic origin of the Origo. The following extract, beginning at the second sentence of the Origo (where the poem probably commenced) shows this effort of reproduction:

werod Winnilis
"There was a small people that was called Winnilis,
And with them was a woman, Gambara by name, and she had two sons.
Ibor Agio
Ibor was the name of one and Agio the name of the other.
They with their mother, Gambara by name,
giwald *W*inniles arwegan
Held the sovereignty over the Winniles. Moved then
erl (or adaling) Ambri Assi
The leaders of the Wandals, that is, Ambri and Assi,
werod Winniles
With their army and said to the Winniles,
gamban geldan garuuian
Either pay tributes or prepare yourselves
wig winnan.
For battle and fight with us.
anduuordian Ibor Agio
Then answered Ibor and Agio,
With their mother Gambara,
bazzira badu
It is better for us to make ready the battle
gamban geldan gairewandilum
Than to pay tributes to the Wandals.
Ambri Assi erl (adaling)
Then Ambri and Assi, that is, the leaders of the Wandals,
Wôdan[1] Winniles
Asked Wodan that over the Winniles

[1] The Godan of the Latin text is probably a corruption of Wotan or Wodan (see Paul I, 9).

saljan sigu
He should give them the victory.
Wôdan wordun sprak
Wodan answered and said,
sunna upstigan air sehan
Whom at sunrise I shall first see,
salgan sigu
To them will I give the victory.
At that time Gambara with her two sons,
Ibor Agio adaling or erl
That is, Ibor and Agio, who were chiefs over the Winniles,
Frea frî
Besought Frea, the wife of Wodan,
wegôn? (Old-High-German) Winniles
To be propitious to the Winniles.
râd urrisan
Then Frea gave counsel that at sunrise
Winniles wîb
The Winniles should come, and that their women,
hâr hleor
With their hair let down around the face
giſicnissie liudweros (?)
In the likeness of a beard, should come also with their husbands.
suigli (?) sunna
Then when it became bright, while the sun was rising,
Frea frî
Frea, the wife of Wodan, turned around
The bed where her husband was lying
andwlita austar
And put his face toward the east
wakjan wlîtan
And awakened him, and he, looking at them,
Winniles wîb
Saw the Winniles and their women
hâr hleor
Having their hair let down around the face,

And he says, 'Who are these long-beards?'
wordun sprak Wôdan
And Frea said to Wodan,
saljan sigu
As thou hast given a name, give them also the victory."[1]

In the concluding passage—"And he gave them the victory so that they should defend themselves according to his counsel and obtain the victory. From that time the Winnili were called Langobards"—there are also traces of alliteration, but there is evidently a defect in the translation or a change from the original form, and there is some contradiction between the manuscripts.

The next chapter, which tells of the emigration of the Langobards, the election of their king, and the succession of the two subsequent kings, also contains national traditions, and in like manner the elements of alliterative verse appear in it, as well as in the third chapter, describing the fight between king Odoacar and the Rugians and the settlement of the Langobards in Rugiland. The same is true of the earlier parts of Chapter IV. In this chapter the battle between Tato and Rodolf, king of the Heroli, is described. In Paul's History of the Langobards (I, 20) we are told: "Tato indeed carried off the banner of Rodolf, which they call *bandum*, and his helmet which he had been accustomed to bear in war." Bruckner believes (p. 55) that the redundant clause, "Which he had been accustomed to bear in war," can only be explained as a

[1] It will be noted that four out of the six lines in the foregoing, which it is impossible to render into alliterative German, are those relating to Gambara, so that a single interpolation or defect in the translation into Latin might account for them all. Every one of these four lines might be omitted, and scarcely any change would be required in the rest of the poem. May it not be that the statements concerning Gambara came from another source?

translation of a German composite word; that the combat between the Langobards and the Heroli was celebrated in a German song, and that the traces of this song appear in what precedes and follows.[1]

In the latter part of the fourth chapter, however (Bruckner, p. 57), the traces of alliteration begin to disappear at the passage, 'And Wacho fought and Ildichis, the son of Tato, fought and Ildichis fled to the Gippidi where he died, etc.'' The rest of chapter IV shows few recognizable traces of alliterative song. The account of the three wives of Wacho and his various children evidently comes from another source. Only three lines (describing Wacho's death, that his son Waltari reigned seven years, and that these were Lethinges) are alliterative. After these Bruckner finds no traces of a poetic source and considers that this part of the Origo is rather historical than traditional, that it shows a style quite different from the first part, with more involved construction and indirect quotations, and the impossibility of turning it into alliterative verse seems to him to show all the more clearly that the first part of the poem, which can be so easily done into such verse, has a poetical origin.

It appears to the present translator that Bruckner has made out his case, and that in his reconstruction of these alliterative verses he has shown the strongest probability of the epic origin of the first part of the Origo.

In regard to the general question as to the source from which Paul derived his account, Bruckner in this article (p. 47) follows the opinion of Waitz, and whereas Mommsen sees

[1] If this is so it would seem to indicate—since the phrase, ''which he had been accustomed to bear in war'' does not appear in the Origo—that Paul had taken his account from some different (perhaps more extended) version which had also for its source an epic poem.

no contradiction between Paul and the Origo, Bruckner considers that Paul's account varies so widely from it that even a common source cannot be inferred!

In the presence of such divergent views, it is hazardous for the editor to venture an opinion. It seems to him, however, that Waitz and Bruckner have effectually refuted Mommsen's contention that Paul drew his account from a single and more extensive Origo contained in the lost historical work of Secundus. Paul's own statement (I, 21) shows that he consulted, not only one, but several manuscripts in regard to the early history of his people. He would hardly have given two different titles to the single work of Secundus. The fact that the Origo came originally from an epic poem makes it improbable that an historical work should have been the single source from which it was derived. It is more than likely that one or more of the manuscripts Paul consulted were similar in scope and phraseology to the Origo as we have it, and that he made extracts therefrom almost word for word.[1]

Waitz's contention that there were three sources: first, the Origo as we have it, second, some other account not known to us, and third, Secundus of Trent, seems highly probable. This second source, however, may well have been a more extended version of the Origo than that preserved in the three manuscripts of Madrid, LaCava and Modena. The evidence of abbreviation in these manuscripts as set forth by Mommsen and Schmidt as well as Jacobi,[2] is quite strong.

The fact that the Origo was taken in part from an epic poem does not conflict with this view. Upon the whole,

[1] Bluhme in his preface to the Laws of the Langobards (Mon. Germ. Hist. LL, IV, cxii, sec. x) states that the Madrid and LaCava MSS. came from Benevento. If so, their prototypes were probably accessible to Paul.

[2] See also Bethmann, 364.

Waitz's opinion appears to the editor to be sound, with the understanding that the "other source" he speaks of may well have been another version of the Origo in a greatly extended and somewhat altered form.

2. *The Acts of the Langobards by Secundus of Trent.*

In the foregoing discussion mention has been made of the lost work of Secundus of Trent.[1] Paul twice mentions this work as one of his authorities (III, 29; IV, 40), and he also speaks of Secundus as godfather on the occasion of the baptism of Adaloald (IV, 27). Secundus is also mentioned several times in the letters of Pope Gregory the Great; in January, 596, he is deacon to archbishop Marinianus of Ravenna (Jacobi, 63; Gregory's Epistles, VI, 24). In April of the same year Gregory writes to Secundus at Ravenna (Epistles, VI, 30) to hasten the conclusion of the peace with Agilulf; in April, 599, Gregory again writes to him (Epistles, II, 52) to allay his doubts in regard to the synod of Chalcedon. In 603 Secundus appears (from Gregory's letter to queen Theudelinda) to have been at the Langobard court. He was then an abbot. Secundus' work was a "History of the Acts of the Langobards" (P., IV, 40), and was brought down to 612. It is harder to say when it began. In determining what Paul took from it, the fact that Secundus came from Trent is important, and the local accounts in Paul's history relating to Trent must be ascribed to this source. These statements are quite numerous. First, Paul mentions (III, 9) the taking of Anagnis above Trent by the Franks, the defeat of count Ragilo of Lagaris, the victory of duke Euin of Trent at Salurn, his marriage (III, 10) with a daughter of duke Garibald of Bavaria, his command of the expedition to Istria (III, 27), the irruption of the Franks into Italy in 590 (III, 31) where Paul supple-

[1] The statements regarding Secundus are taken almost exclusively from Jacobi, pp. 63–84.

ments the account of Gregory of Tours by statements from Secundus, the embassy of bishop Agnellus to Gaul to secure the liberation of prisoners, the peace concluded by duke Euin (IV, 1); the drought, famine and plague of grasshoppers (IV, 2); the death of duke Euin; the appointment of his successor Gaidoald (IV, 10); the insurrection of the latter against Agilulf and his subsequent reconciliation, and the mention of Secundus as godfather to Adaloald (IV, 27).

That Secundus had close relations to queen Theudelinda and the Langobard court brings us to a second class of questions we can trace to his lost work, namely—those which relate to this court (Jacobi, 67), such as Agilulf's elevation to the throne (III, 35) and the punishment of the rebellious dukes Mimulf, Gaidulf and Ulfari[1] (IV, 3). Probably the statement that pope Gregory the Great sent a copy of his Dialogues to queen Theudelinda (IV, 5) comes from Secundus since no hint of this is found in Gregory's letters. Jacobi doubts (p. 67) whether what Paul says of Agilulf's and Theudelinda's attitude to the Catholic church (IV, 6) can be traced to Secundus, as the latter would hardly have designated the Langobards as heathens at the time of their invasion and it is doubtful whether Agilulf held the Catholic faith; but it would seem quite as likely that in this Paul copied Secundus' errors as that he interpolated statements of his own. We can attribute to Secundus what Paul says of the appointment of Tassilo as duke or king in Bavaria by Childepert; of Tassilo's victory over the Slavs (IV, 7); of the overthrow of the Bavarians in 595 by the Cagan (IV, 10); of the succession of Garibald (IV, 39) after Tassilo's death and his wars waged with the Slavs. Through queen Theudelinda and duke Euin's wife, a connection existed with Bavaria (Jacobi 68). Paul

[1] The Origo mentions the two first but says nothing of Mimulf's desertion to the Franks, and Paul here follows the completer source.

relates (IV, 8) from the Liber Pontificalis the attack by the exarch Romanus upon various cities possessed by the Langobards, but he adds apparently from Secundus that Agilulf captured Perugia and executed the traitorous duke of that city. Paul's statement of the appearance of a comet in January following; of the death of archbishop John of Ravenna and the installment of his successor Marianus; of the introduction of wild horses and buffaloes into Italy; of the death of duke Euin; the defeat of the Bavarians; (IV, 10) the coming of an embassy from the Cagan; the peace with him and with Gallicinus and Theodoric II (IV, 12) all point to Agilulf's court and to Secundus. The account of this execution of dukes Zangrulf and Gaidulf may be traceable either to Secundus or to the Origo, but the punishment of duke Warnecautius comes from Secundus (IV, 13) as well as the ravages of the plague in Ravenna and in Verona (IV, 14; the capture of duke Godescalc of Parma and his wife, king Agilulf's daughter by the exarch; the sending of ship-builders to the Cagan (IV, 20), and perhaps the consecration of the church of St. John in Monza (IV, 21), though Paul probably knew personally that queen Theudelinda has built a palace there (IV, 22) since he described the pictures in it. The capture and destruction of Padua can more certainly be traced to Secundus (IV, 23), also the statement that Agilulf's ambassadors to the Cagan returned with the ambassador of the Avars who proceeded to Gaul to make peace between the Langobards and Franks, and the statement that an army of Langobards and Avars with Slavs invaded Istria (IV, 24). Adaloald's birth; the attack upon Monselice; the return of Smaragdus (IV, 25); the campaign against the exarch for the liberation of the king's daughter and her death (IV, 28); the cold winter and failure of crops following the death of pope Gregory (IV, 29); the coronation of Adaloald (IV, 30); the death by lightning of the choir-leader Peter (IV, 31); the truces between Agilulf

and Smaragdus; the comet (IV, 32); the sending of Agilulf's notary to the emperor Phocas, and the securing of an annual truce (IV, 35), are all probably derived from Secundus, but Jacobi (p. 71) thinks there is more doubt as to the account of the irruption of the Avars into Friuli and the treason of the duchess Romilda since that account was legendary (IV, 37) and the indefinite expression "about these times" points to the use of another source. The account of the transactions in Bavaria (IV, 39); the annual peace of Agilulf with the emperor and the renewal of the same; the peace with the Franks; the irruption of the Slavs into Istria (IV, 40); appear to be taken from Secundus. Then follows the statement of Secundus' death (id).

In considering the character of Secundus' work, Jacobi believes (p. 72) that when Paul says (IV, 40) that Secundus wrote a short history of the acts of the Langobards up to his own time, this means that Secundus wrote a contemporary history, and that his work was in the nature of a chronicle or a series of annals. Paul generally follows his sources nearly word for word, and the participial construction and the frequent use of the perfect tense and the passive voice, the introduction of sentences taken from Secundus by the phrases "in this year," "at this time," "in the following year," "in the following month," and the mention of natural phenomena, point to the fact that Secundus wrote in the manner of the chroniclers of his time. Jacobi therefore thinks (p. 72) that he probably began with the conquest of Italy in 568.

Secundus stated that the patriarch Paul fled from Aquileia from the Langobards to Grado (II, 10) and that that winter there was a great fall of snow, followed by abundant harvests. The catalogue of the patriarchs down to Severus in Aquileia and Epiphanius in Grado (IV, 33), Jacobi believes (p. 73) is traceable to Secundus.[1] Perhaps Paul's statement (III, 20)

[1] Cipolla, after collating and discussing the various sources now

that Gregory was the author of the letter sent by Pope Pelagius II to the patriarch Elias is traceable to Secundus;[1] also the account (III, 26) of the forcible kidnapping of Severus and other bishops by Smaragdus, their return to Grado and their retraction at the Synod of Marano, since Agnellus of Trent was one of the bishops who took part in this synod. Paul may have made use of some document besides, but more likely this was done by Secundus.[2] Alboin's meeting with bishop Felix of Treviso (II, 12); the conquest of Venetia (II, 14); the king's entrance into Milan on September 5th, 569; the conquest of Liguria up to the coast cities; the flight of archbishop Honoratus to Ravenna (II, 25), are traceable in like manner to Secundus (Jacobi, 74).

Paul's account of the conquest of Ticinum by Alboin (II, 26) may come from Secundus or from the Origo. The Origo says that the city was beseiged for three years, and to judge

accessible upon this point (Atti del Congresso in Cividale, 1899, pp. 135–140), concludes that Paul used a catalogue then existing in his own city of Cividale which was substantially the same as the one used by the See of Grado, and contained, besides the years of the pontificate of each patriarch, certain brief historical statements. Paul's omission of the patriarchate of Marcianus, however, which is contained in the Chronicle of the Patriarchs of Aquileia and in the Chronicle of Altino, makes it probable that he relied upon some secondary source.

[1] Cipolla (Atti, etc., pp. 143–144) thinks Paul found this letter among some documents at Cividale, but did not read or understand it, since he gave it the wrong interpretation. It would seem more probable that he took his statements wholly from some other source.

[2] Cipolla believes, however (Atti, etc., p. 144), that the matters relating to Severus were taken from the acts of the schismatic Synod of Marano, and that Paul was ignorant of the fact that Gregory regarded Severus as the head of the schism.

from the Chronicon Gothanum it mentioned also the capture of Milan and other cities. The mention of the failure of crops in the second year of the siege points to Secundus, so that Paul here very likely fused together different statements. Other legendary accounts were also accessible to Paul as is shown by his story (II, 27) of Alboin's entry into Pavia.

What Paul states about the murder of Alboin is traceable to other sources, but what he tells of the reign and death of Cleph (II, 31) may be taken from Secundus.

The statement (II, 32) regarding the time of the interregnum, which Paul, differing from other sources, fixes at ten years, as well as that which gives the number of the dukes, and tells of the distribution of the Romans among the Langobards are traceable to Secundus. Also the account of Authari's elevation to the throne (III, 16) and that he took the name of Flavius, but Jacobi (p. 75) does not attribute to this historian the statement that the dukes relinquished half their possessions to the king, and Pabst (Forsch., II, 425, n. 2) regards as wholly legendary what Paul relates of the Golden Age under Authari. With greater certainty we can determine that Secundus mentioned the conquest of Brexillum; the three years' truce with Smaragdus (III, 18); the floods in Liguria and Venetia; the damage to the walls of Verona; the great thunder storm; the fire in Verona (III, 23), and Paul completed his account from Gregory the Great and Gregory of Tours (Jacobi, 76). Paul's account of Authari's wooing (III, 30), however, seems to Jacobi legendary (p. 76). Only two places in it show by the form of their narrative that they have proceeded from historical sources; the account of the murder of Ansul (III, 30) at Verona and the statement of the date and place of the marriage of Authari and Theudelinda. These point to the use of a source like Secundus. Jacobi thinks that what Paul says of the flight of Theudelinda from Bavaria is legendary, since queen Theudelinda has her coming announced

and the Frankish sources are silent. Paul knew from the Origo that Gundoald came to Italy with his sister Theudelinda.

Jacobi (p. 77) traces the date of Authari's death (III, 35) and the suspicion that he had been poisoned, to Secundus and believes that in the narrative of Agilulf's choice by Theudelinda connected with historical dates, saga and fact are united.

Jacobi also traces to Secundus (p. 77) the conquest of Classis (III, 13) by duke Faroald of Spoleto;[1] the accession and death of duke Ariulf and the struggles of the sons of Faroald for the succession, which led to the appointment of Theudelapius (IV, 16). What Paul says of Arichis, the successor of Zotto of Beneventum (IV, 18) seems to Jacobi (p. 78) to come from Secundus, on account of the words, "sent by the king Agilulf," though Beneventan sources were certainly accessible to Paul, and the first mention of Zotto (III, 33) is not derived from the historian of Trent.

The statements which Paul borrowed from Secundus in regard to Langobard history are concluded at this point, but Secundus hardly confined himself to the special history of his own country. At this time the relations between the Frankish and Langobard kingdoms were important, and nothing is more natural than that Secundus should bring into his work what came to his knowledge under this head. The statements concerning Frankish affairs down to 612 which are not traceable to Gregory are probably taken from Secundus, and where Paul follows Gregory with variations, we can trace these variations (where they are not due to mere carelessness) to Secundus, such as the statement in regard to Sigisbert's struggles with the Avars in Thuringia and by the Elbe (II, 10; Greg., IV, 23). Thus Gregory gives as the reason of the unfortunate campaign

[1] The epitaph of Droctulf indeed states this circumstance (III, 19), but as Paul mentions Faroald as first duke of the people of Spoleto (III, 13), another source, probably Secundus, was used.

of Childepert II against the Langobards in 585, the lack of union in their leaders (Greg., VIII, 18), and Paul (III, 22) attributes it to the discord between the Alamanni and the Franks. It is uncertain whether the account (III, 10) of Sigisbert's death is taken from Gregory (IV, 51; V, 1) or Secundus. Since Paul immediately adds a statement about Euin of Trent he may have taken it from Secundus.

Finally, the short accounts (IV, 26) of the fall and overthrow of the emperor Maurice by Phocas, as well as the overthrow of the latter in 610 and the accession of Heraclius (IV, 36) to the throne, appear to be traceable to Secundus.[1]

In the same style in which Paul (IV, 40), before the statement of Secundus' death, speaks of the conclusion of a peace between the Langobards, the emperor and the Franks, and the irruption of the Slavs into Istria, he goes on, after the account of Secundus' death, with the statement of a truce between Agilulf and the emperor and of the death of Theudipert II and of duke Gundoald of Asti. The possible sources from which Paul had learned the death of Secundus in March, 612, are many, but the most probable seems to Jacobi (79) to be that a continuer of the chronicle also mentioned the death of the author and added the above short statements.

The foregoing discussion concludes our review of the Langobard sources from which Paul derived the statements in his history.

(c) ROMAN SOURCES.

We turn now to the last division of this investigation, to the ascertainment of the Roman sources which Paul used. These were quite numerous, a great number of short and

[1] Ebert (Litteratur des Mittelalters, II, 46, note) believes that Jacobi has attributed too much to Secundus, in view of the fact that Paul had spoken of his work as "a succinct little history."

sometimes unimportant extracts having been made by Paul from various Roman authorities. There was, however, a very considerable and a very important portion of Paul's history which was taken from a source in regard to which there is a serious controversy, Mommsen insisting that it is derived from a chronicle now lost, and Jacobi and Waitz claiming that the bulk of this portion of the history is taken from the Liber Pontificalis and Bede, and that only a small portion is taken from the lost chronicle. There is also a dispute as to the source from which Paul derived his Catalogue of the Provinces of Italy in the Second Book. We may, therefore, conveniently divide this part of our discussion into three divisions. First, Miscellaneous Sources; second, Liber Pontificalis, Bede, and the Lost Chronicle; third, the Catalogue of the Provinces of Italy.

(1) *Miscellaneous Sources.*

These are set forth by Jacobi in detail, and there is little difference of opinion in regard to them. They are Eugippius, Gregory the Great, Marcus Casinensis, Venantius Fortunatus, Autpert, Life of Columban, the Elder Pliny, Justin, the Cosmographer of Ravenna, Virgil, Donatus, Sextus Aurelius Victor, Festus, Isidore, Jordanis, Justinian. These will be considered in order.

Eugippius[1] (Jacobi, 24). Eugippius' biography of St. Severinus was used by Paul only once, when he added to the account in the Origo of Odoacar's victory over Fewa (I, 19) some few statements in regard to the latter, including Fewa's other name, Feletheus, and the fact that the saint often admonished him and his wife Gisa in vain regarding their errors

[1] An Italian monk, the pupil of St. Severinus of Noricum, who wrote about 511 a life of the saint, which is an important source of early German History.

and finally prophesied their fate. Also the statement that the saint was buried in Naples (Eugipp. Vita. Severini Acta. SS., Jan. 8, I, p. 486 *et seq.* See chap. I, 3, sec. 15; IX, sec. 39; XI; XII, sec 57).

Gregory the Great[1] (Jacobi, 24, 25, 26). Paul mentions the Dialogues of Gregory the Great on several occasions (I, 26; III, 23; IV, 5) and his two poems on St. Benedict are based almost entirely on statements made in the second book of these Dialogues (See Appendix III). The first thing in the historical part of Paul's work traceable to Gregory is the mention of those terrible signs which appeared in the northern sky like lances and swords, and foretold the irruption of the Langobards (p. II, 5; Dialog. III, 38; I, Homily on the Gospels). From Gregory also comes, as our author himself states, the account of the flood in Verona (III, 23; Dialogue III, 19). But since Paul mentions the 17th of October as the day of the occurrence and speaks of a fire in Verona of which Gregory says nothing, he had evidently another source at his hand, probably Secundus. Paul also takes (IV, 17) from the Dialogues (II, 17) the account of the destruction of the cloister of Monte Cassino in 589, which, however, he puts at too late a period, about 601 (Jacobi, 26). He adds that the Rule of the Order written by St. Benedict's own hand was rescued and sent to Rome from which it was later re-acquired for the newly established cloister (VI, 40). This was probably taken from some account at Monte Cassino. Paul names in this place (IV, 17) the four abbots who succeeded St. Bene-

[1] Gregory I, or St. Gregory, born at Rome about 540, pope from 590 to 604. He was the author of numerous homilies on Ezekiel and the Gospels, of "Morals," "Pastoral care," "Dialogues," "Letters," etc. His letters are of great value as sources of contemporary history. (See note III, 24.)

dict. Gregory in the prologue to the Second Book of Dialogues mentions the first two.[1]

Paul refers (IV, 8) to Gregory's homilies on Ezekiel where he mentions that Gregory was so greatly affected by Agilulf's advance that he had to interrupt his description of the temple. Gregory relates this occurrence in the preface of the second book of the homilies (Waitz). Paul brings this circumstance into connection with the attack by the exarch Romanus in 594 upon several cities, whereupon Agilulf marched against Romanus, stormed Perugia and pressed on to Rome (Gregory's Epistles V, 40).

Besides the letters to Agilulf and Theudelinda (IV, 9; Ep. IX, 42, 43) Paul gives us only one complete letter of Gregory, that to duke Arichis of Benevento January 602 (IV, 19; Ep. XII, 21), and then, in a characterization of Gregory, he gives us a part of a letter to the deacon Savinianus (IV, 29; Ep. IV, 47 : II). The statement that Gregory is the author of the letter to Elias of Aquileia which Pelagius II addressed to him on the occasion of the schism is found only in Paul (III, 20). There appears no mention of it in Gregory's letters.

Marcus Casinensis (Jacobi, 27). Paul (I, 26) mentions the poet Marcus who composed a poem on St. Benedict in thirty-three distichs concerning the establishment of the cloister of Monte Cassino. Paul gives us line 38 (See Muratori Script. IV, 605–606).

Venantius Fortunatus[2] (Jacobi, 27, 28). From the poem of Venantius Fortunatus on St. Martin of Tours (Book IV, verses 640, 700) Paul took the birth place of the poet, the

[1] Paul's account of the destruction of the people of Italy (III, 32) "who had grown up like crops" comes from the Dialogues (II, 38).

[2] A Latin poet, bishop of Poictiers, born at Ceneda, Italy, about 530, died about 600. He was the author of 600 hymns, among them the *Vexilla regis prodeunt.*

healing of his eyes in the church at Ravenna and his journey to Tours (II, 13).[1]

Autpert (Jacobi, 28). Paul tells us (VI, 40) that he took the account of the establishment of the cloister of St. Vincent on the Volturno by the brothers Tato, Taso and Paldo from their biographies composed by the abbot Autpert.[2]

Life of St. Columban[3] (Jacobi, 28). The establishment of the cloisters of Luxeuil and Bobbio by St. Columban is mentioned by Paul (IV, 41) quite briefly, and while it is probable, it is not certain, that he used for this statement the Life of St. Columban. Mommsen believes (p. 66) that the identification of Wotan with Mercury is also taken from this life (ch. 53).

The Elder Pliny (Jacobi, 28). Paul (I, 2) refers to Pliny's Natural History (IV, 27 [13]) to establish the identity of the "Scadanan" of the Origo with Scadinavia. In the account of Lamissio (I, 15), Paul refers to Pliny (VII, 3) to establish

[1] The verses do not say that Venantius made the journey in that way, but at the end of his poem apostrophizing his book, which he sends to his friends in Italy, he indicates the way that book is to take, which is surely that which he himself took on his journey from Italy to France. In this poem mention is made of Forum Julii, but not in its proper order, and Paul does not speak of this place (which was his own birthplace, or near it) in relating the journey. Crivellucci (Studi Storici, 1899) concludes that the mention of Forum Julii is an interpolation, and that as it is absent in some of the MSS., it could not have been in the one consulted by Paul.

[2] Autpert came from the Frankish kingdom to the cloister of St. Vincent, and died there 778 (Bethmann, 384).

[3] Written by Jonas, a monk of Bobbio, about 640 (Hodgkin, VI, 105). St. Columban was born in Leinster, Ireland about 543 (id., p. 110), died at Bobbio, Italy, 615 (id., p. 145). He was a missionary in France, Switzerland and Italy, and founded the monasteries of Luxeuil and Bobbio (id., 111--133).

the credibility of his story of that king's wonderful birth. Mommsen believes (p. 92) that Paul's statement (II, 17) that the river Siler is the boundary between Campania and Lucania is from Pliny, also Paul's reference to the Aternus or Piscarium (II, 19) and to "the left horn of Italy" (II, 21), etc.

Justin[1] (Jacobi, 29). In his account of the irruption of the Gauls under Brennus into Italy (II, 23) Paul mostly follows the Epitome of Justin (XXIV) which gives the number of the Gauls at 300,000 and states that a part of them destroyed Rome, another part went to Greece and were there defeated at Delphi, and the third part proceeded to Asia (XXV, 2) and settled in Galatia, and the last, Paul adds, were the Galatians to whom St. Paul wrote his epistle. Paul arbitrarily attributed to these three bands of invaders the strength of 100,000 men each. The names of the cities established by the Gauls are also taken from Justin (XX, 5) (?).[2]

The Cosmographer of Ravenna (I, 11, see Jacobi, 30) mentions Mauringa, which according to Paul (I, 11) is the third settlement of the Langobards, and describes the Skridefinnen who are probably the Scritobini of Paul (I, 5). (See Procopius B. G., II, 15.) Possibly Paul's explanation of the ebb and flow of the tide (I, 6) can be traced to this source.

Virgil (Jacobi, 30). Virgil's verses (Æneid III, 420 to 423) are quoted in Paul's reference to Charybdis.

Donatus[3] (Jacobi, 30). Paul refers (II, 23) to Donatus'

[1] A Roman historian who lived before the fifth century; he was the compiler of an epitome of a lost history by Pompeius Trogus, written near the beginning of the Christian era (Larousse).

[2] But Justin names Conium, Verona, Tridentum and Vincentia and omits Ticinum.

[3] Aelius Donatus, a Roman grammarian and rhetorician who

commentary upon Virgil for his assertion that Mantua was in Gaul. The place in question is found in Servius on the Æneid (Bk. X, line 200).

Sextus Aurelius Victor (Jacobi, 30). To prove that the Cottian Alps were a province by themselves (II, 18) Paul appeals to a history by Sextus Aurelius Victor (De Caesar. Ch. V, Nero). Perhaps also the derivation of the name of the Cottian Alps from king Cottius comes from this history.

Festus[1] (Jacobi, 31). From Festus' *De Verborum Significatione* (Exc. ed. Müller) Paul deduces the origin of the names Lucania (p. 119), Picenum (p. 212), Samnium (p. 327), Italia (p. 46), Ausonia (p. 4). Also, according to Mommsen (95), Forum Julii (p. 84).[2]

Isidore[3] (See Jacobi, 31). Paul took from Isidore's Etymologies (XIII, 19; 6) that Lake Benacus lay in Venetia (P. II, 14). Also the explanation of the names Histria (Etym. XIV, 4, 18)[4], Tuscia (20), Umbria (21), Campania (XV, 1, 64), Apennine Alps (XIV, 8, 13), Etruria (XIV, 4, 22), Sicily (XIV, 6, 30), Corsica (35), Sardinia (XIV, 6, 34),

lived in the middle of the fourth century, who wrote, among other things, a commentary on Virgil.

[1] Sextus Pompeius Festus, a Latin lexicographer, who lived perhaps in the second century. He epitomized a glossary of Latin words and phrases, entitled "De Verborum Significatu," by M. Verrius Flaccus, which is now lost.

[2] These citations from Festus may be found in alphabetical order in other editions than Müller's.

[3] Isidorus Hispalensis, or Isidore of Seville, born at Cartagena about 560, died 636, became bishop of Seville 600. He wrote a work on etymology, a chronicle, etc., and his books were held in high esteem during the Middle Ages.

[4] I cite the Madrid edition of Isidore (Ulloa, 1778), which differs from the texts cited by Jacobi and Mommsen.

Italy (XIV, 4, 19).[1] Also the introductory first chapter of his first book, describing the advantages of northern lands for the propagation of the human race, must be traced to Isidore (IX, 2, 96; XIV, 4, 2). The remarkable derivation of Germania from *germinare* is also traceable to a certain extent to a statement of Isidore (XIV. 4, 2). Paul's statement of the boundaries of Italy (II, 9) was also taken from Isidore's Etymologies (XIV, 4, 19). On the other hand, Paul only used the Chronicle of Isidore twice in his Langobard history; first, for the conquest of Belisarius over the Persians (I. 25; see Chronicle AM., 5762), and second, for the insurrection of the factions of the circus, the Blues and the Greens under Phocas (P., IV, 36; Chron. AM., 5809).

Jordanis[2] (Jacobi, 32). From the Chronicle of Jordanis Paul took (I, 19) the names of the peoples which Odoacar led into the field against Fewa (Ed. Lindenbr. Hamb., 1611, p. 59); also the statement (P., II, 1) of the alliance of the Langobards with the Byzantine court (id., p. 67). From Jordanis' History of the Goths Paul took the explanations of the names of Brittia (chap. XXX; see Mommsen, p. 94) and Venetia (chap. XXIX; see Mommsen, p. 97).

Justinian (Jacobi, 32). Paul took his statement regarding the composition of the Code, Institutes and Pandects of Justinian (I, 25) from the second preface of Justinian to the Digests. From this, too, came the enumeration of the titles of Justinian.

The explanation of the derivation of Liguria, Æmilia, Flaminia and Apulia are peculiar to Paul (II, 15, 19, 21),[3] per-

[1] Mommsen adds (p. 95) Latium (Isid. XIV, 4, 19).

[2] A Gothic historian and ecclesiastic of the sixth century. He wrote a history of the Goths and a general chronicle.

[3] Mommsen believes (p. 97) that the meaning of Apulia, Atella, Aurelia and Liguria were derived from the complete edition of Festus which Paul had, and which has not come down to us.

haps also has derivation of the Cottian Alps from king Cottius (II, 16; Jacobi, 32).

It would seem that Paul had before him documents from Monte Cassino only to a very limited extent (Jacobi, 86). The account of the robbery of the bones of St. Benedict and his sister (P. VI, 2) appear to rest upon some such authority, and the account of the second establishment of the cloister by Petronax (VI, 40) on the use of some local source. The narrative of the conflict between duke Pemmo of Friuli and the patriarch Calixtus (VI, 51) may rest upon certain Friulan accounts, since the work of our author in its latter portion deals with legends of the marvelous doings of the Langobard kings and the dukes of Beneventum, Friuli and Spoleto.

(2) *The Liber Pontificalis, Bede and the Lost Chronicle.*

In treating of these it will be convenient first to consider Jacobi's analysis of Paul's sources and then to compare this with Mommsen's divergent views. Jacobi says (p. 45) that for the later part of the History of the Langobards the Liber Pontificalis and Bede's Chronicle are almost the only sources which have come down to us, and that about one-sixth of Paul's work is derived from these two. His whole system of chronology depends in a general way upon Bede. Paul used the Liber Pontificalis from John III to Gregory II. He appears to have used an edition known as B of Muratori (Jacobi 46 and 47). From it he took the story (P. II, 5; Lib. Pont., John III) of the invitation of the Langobards into Italy by Narses; also the account of Narses' departure to Naples, his return to Rome, his death and the sending of his body to Constantinople (P. II, 11; Lib. Pont., John III); the statement that at the time of Pope Benedict the Langobards laid waste the country surrounding Rome and that Justin II brought grain from Egypt to relieve the famine (P. III, 11; Lib. Pont., Bened. I); and of the election of pope Pelagius (P. III, 20,

Lib. Pont. Pelagius II) without the confirmation of the emperor.

As Bede also used the Liber Pontificalis, it is sometimes hard to tell whether Paul made his extract from the former or the latter; for example, in regard to the missionaries sent to Britain by Gregory I (P. III, 25; Bede 4536; Lib. Pont. Greg. I). Sometimes he supplements one by the other. It is doubtful which source he followed in relating the confirmation by Liutprand of the gift of the Cottian Alps (P. VI, 28; Bede 4659; Lib. Pont. John VII; Jacobi 49–50). Thus Paul (V, 30) recapitulates from the Liber Pontificalis (Vitalianus and Adeodatus) the murder of Constans II in Sicily in 668; the suppression of the uprising of Mezetius and the succession of Constantine IV, but the period of the reign of the latter is taken from Bede (A. M. 4639). Sometimes Paul connects the statements in such a way that mistakes occur. Thus he takes the account of an eclipse of the moon (VI, 5) (June 28th, 680) from the Liber Pontificalis (Agatho), and of an eclipse of the sun (May 2, 680) from Bede (A. M. 4622), but the chronological order is inverted. To the gift of the patrimony of the Cottian Alps by king Aripert (VI, 28) to the Holy See (Bede A. M. 4659; Lib. Pont. John VII) Paul joins as contemporaneous the pilgrimage of two Anglo-Saxon kings to Rome, which is incorrect, since the Liber Pontificalis fixes the event under Pope Constantine I (708 and 715). Also in the account of the second reign of Justinian II Paul works together (VI, 31) the account of the Liber Pontificalis (John VII) and Bede (A. M. 4665) stating that Justinian put to death certain patricians, as well as his two rivals Leo (Leontius) and Tiberius (Apsimar) whereas Bede had simply designated these as patricians.

Paul (VI, 31) relates in Bede's language (A. M. 4665) that Justinian sent the patriarch Callinicus whom he calls Gallicinus, blinded to Rome, made the abbot Cyrus patriarch, and

caused Pope Constantine I to come to Constantinople, and on the other hand he relates in the words of the Liber Pontificalis (Constantine, Murat. III, p. 153, n. 16) that the Pope vainly tried to dissuade the emperor from sending an army against the banished Filippicus. Paul takes from the Liber Pontificalis (VI, 36; Lib. Pont., Gregory II) the insurrection of the fleet sent by Anastasius II against Egypt, but he adds from Bede (A. M. 4671) the victory of Theodosius over Anastasius at Nicea, the setting up again of the Council picture in Constantinople, and the overflow of the Tiber. The siege of Constantinople by the Arabs, Paul takes (VI, 47) from Bede (A. M. 4680), but adds from the Liber Pontificalis (Greg. II) that 300,000 persons perished by pestilence. He relates from Bede (A. M. 4680) that the Saracens were defeated by the Bulgarians and the rest of their army destroyed by a storm at sea, and that the bones of St. Augustine were transported from Sardinia to Ticinum by king Liutprand, and he correctly puts as contemporary therewith (VI, 48) from the Liber Pontificalis (Greg. II) the conquest of Narnia by the Langobards.

Paul relates (IV, 8) from the Liber Pontificalis alone (Greg. 1) the capture by the exarch Romanus of some cities that already belonged to the Langobards; the taking of Naples by John of Consia; his defeat by the patrician Eleutherius, and the murder of the latter in Luceoli (Jacobi, 52, 53); the account (IV, 45) of the earthquake and plague in Rome (Lib. Pont., Deusdedit, Muratori III, p. 135), and the expedition of Constans II to Italy (V, 6; Lib. Pont., Vitalian), but he adds from other sources more detailed accounts and legends of the struggle between king Grimoald and the emperor. Paul tells us (V, 11) also from the Liber Pontificalis (Vitalian) of Constans' entrance into Rome, the plundering of the Pantheon, the departure of the emperor to Naples and Sicily and his murder in Syracuse; the insurrection of Mecetius (Mezetius) (V, 12; Lib. Pont., Adeodatus); the plundering of

Sicily by the Saracens (V, 13); the storms of rain and the second crop of leguminous plants (V, 15); the sending of archbishop Theodore and abbot Hadrian to Britain (V, 30; Lib. Pont. Vitalian); the comet (V, 31; Lib. Pont. Donus); the pestilence that followed; the adornment by Pope Donus of the so-called "Paradise" in front of St. Peter's with a pavement of white marble (id), and the account of the Sixth General Council (VI, 4; Lib. Pont. Agatho). The letter of Damianus however is not found in the Liber Pontificalis nor Bede. Possibly Paul saw the letter and perhaps his confession of faith was taken from it. The eclipse of the moon and the pestilence (VI, 5) comes from the Liber Pontificalis (Agatho). Paul places as contemporaneous with these the ravages of the disease in Pavia and the bringing of the relics of St. Sebastian from Rome. Two remarkable star phenomena and an eruption of Vesuvius (VI, 9) come from the Liber Pontificalis (Benedict II), also the invasion by duke Gisulf (VI, 27) in 702 of the Roman Campania (John VI), but not the name of the conquered cities. The journey of archbishop Benedict (VI, 29) of Milan to Rome comes from the Life of Pope Constantine I. The account of the capture and re-capture of Cumae (VI, 40); the coming of duke Theudo of Bavaria to Rome (VI, 44, Liber Pont. Greg. II); the conquest of Spain by the Saracens and the battle of Poictiers (VI, 46); Liutprand's siege of Ravenna and capture of Classis; the unsuccessful attempt (VI, 49) which the exarch Paul made against Gregory II and Gregory's opposition to the iconoclastic measures of Leo the Isaurian, are all taken from the Liber Pontificalis (Gregory II) together with Gregory's refusal to favor the insurrection against the emperor. While the Liber Pontificalis states that several cities of Aemilia, as well as the Pentapolis and Auxinum surrendered to Liutprand (Pabst, 476), Paul leaves in uncertainty the conquest of these cities by the king. The taking of Sutrium (VI, 49; Liber Pont.

Gregory II) by Liutprand and the restoration of it to the Pope are mentioned by Paul from this source. The repeated attempts of Leo to prevent the worship of images, the removal of the patriarch Germanus and the naming of his successor Anastasius are the last facts which Paul took from the Liber Pontificalis (P. VI, 49; Lib. Pontiff., Greg. II).

It is remarkable that Paul omits so much which he found in his copy, such as the league of Liutprand with the exarch Eutychius, the subjugation of Spoleto and the meeting of Liutprand and Gregory II at Rome. The reason for this silence cannot be certainly given.

From Bede's Chronicle Paul (see Jacobi, 58) takes the account (I, 25) of the destruction of the kingdom of the Vandals in Africa by Belisarius (Bede A. M. 4518);[1] the mention of Dionisius, the founder of the Christian computation of time (id.); the statement (III, 13; Bede A. M. 4529) that Gregory the Great composed his book of Morals or Commentaries on Job at the court of Tiberius in Constantinople, and there successfully opposed the heresy of Euthicius; the death of Gregory (P. IV, 29; Bede A. M. 4565); the transformation of the Pantheon into a church; the period of Focas' reign; the war of the Persians against the empire (IV, 36); the death of Heraclius; the reign of his son Heracleonas with his mother Martina; the six months's reign of Constantine III and the succession of Constans II, whom Paul calls Constantine (P. IV, 49; Bede A. M. 4591, 4593, 4504, 4622), and Paul's chronological errors are thus explained (Jacobi, 59).

The conquest of Africa and the destruction of Carthage by the Arabs (VI, 10; Bede, 4649); the accession of Justinian II (VI, 11; Bede A. M. 4649) (in which he makes the mistake

of calling Justinan a younger son of Constantine, whereas Bede calls him Justinian the younger, a son of Constantine); Justinian's unsuccessful attempt to bring Pope Sergius to Constantinople; the peace with the Arabs (id.); Justinian's overthrow by Leo (VI, 12; Bede, 4649, 4652); the account (VI, 14) of the synod of Aquileia which ended a schism (Bede, 4659) and the statement that the Fifth Synod was directed against Theodore of Mopsuestia (VI, 14; Bede, 4639), all come from Bede, but Paul adds erroneously that this synod proclaimed Mary the Mother of God, confusing it with the Third General Council (Jacobi, 61). Paul takes from Bede (VI, 32; Bede A. M. 4665, 4667) the insurrection of Filippicus which ended Justinian's second reign, but Paul adds from another source that Justinian had his nose cut off when he was banished by Leonitus and after his return sought to revenge himself by continual executions of his opponents. Paul took word for word from Bede (VI, 34; Bede A. M. 4667) the statement of the removal of the patriarch Cyrus, but the other name of Filippicus, Bardanis, as well as the name Artemius, Paul took from another source. Paul took from Bede the attempt of Filippicus the Monothelete to influence the Pope, and the account of the picture of the six œcumenical councils and of the removal of the imperial effigies (VI, 34; Bede, 4667); Filippicus' overthrow through Anastasius, who recognized the Sixth Council (Bede, 4670); the journeys of the Angles to Rome (VI, 37; Bede, 4671); the rise of Leo the Isaurian to the throne (VI, 41; Bede, 4680); also the statement (VI, 48; Bede, 4680) of the removal of the bones of St. Augustine by king Liutprand, so that Bede's Chronicle is used down to the last syllable.

The remaining part of Bede's work, "De Temporum Ratione," was only used once by Paul (I, 5, Bede, ch. 31) in his comparison of the changing length of the days and the difference in the length of the shadow in different lands.

Bede's History of the Church was used by Paul only once (VI, 15) in regard to the journey and conversion of king Cedoal (Bede V, 7). He incorrectly makes this contemporary with the synod of Aquileia.

Such is the account, (considerably condensed), which Jacobi gives of the extracts from Bede and the Liber Pontificalis. At another place, in his discussion of the sources used by Paul (p. 84), he insists that an indication of an annalistic source now lost occurs in Paul (II, 14) where he says: "For Venetia does not only consist in the few islands which we now call Venice. * * * * This is proved by the books of annals, in which Pergamus (Bergamo) is said to be a city of Venice." In Paul's Roman History (bk. XVI) he had said: "Biorgor, king of the Alani, was overcome and killed not far from Bergamo, a city of Venetia." Bauch (p. 59, 74) and Holder-Egger (Neues Archiv, I, 302) have shown the annalistic origin of the latter passage, and that its source may be traced to Ravenna. Other passages can be traced to similar sources, for instance, the account of the destruction of the Vandal kingdom in Africa by Belisarius, and of the conquest of the king of the Moors, Amtalas, by the ex-consul Joannes (I, 25). Another series of annalistic statements occurs in the beginning of the second book, where Paul mentions (II, 1) the conquest of Totila by Narses with the aid of Langobard auxiliaries, and varies from Procopius in his account of their dismissal, while he omits all mention of the conflict of Narses with Teia. On the other hand, he relates the victory of Narses over Buccellinus, Amingo and Leuthari (II, 2), and seems to have drawn from a source common to Marius of Avenches and the Liber Pontificalis for the History of Sinduald (II, 3) and Dagisteus. Marius, as well as Paul, praises Narses strongly, and as Paul appears to have drawn the statement (II, 4) of the punishment of the bishop Vitalis of Altino from an annalistic source, this may contain the expressions Paul used in

regard to Narses, and he may have made additions from another source (Jacobi, 86).

So much for the discussion of Jacobi. On the other hand Mommsen (p. 77) first considers Paul's Roman sources in connection with the concluding part of his previous work, his Roman History, and says: "Paul brings that history down to the death of Totila in 552, and closes his 16th book with the promise of relating in a subsequent book the things which may be said concerning the good fortune of the emperor Justinian. This following book does not exist, but in its place is the History of the Langobards. For in the account of Justinian the events related in detail in the Roman History (the Persian war; the conquest of Africa; the overthrow of the Goths in Italy through Belisarius) are here condensed into the briefest compass. But the narrative goes into greater detail in things not mentioned in the Roman History—the vanquishing of Amtalas, king of the Moors; the great work in jurisprudence; the building of the church of St. Sophia—and closes with a general estimate of the emperor. In the following book the account of the Gothic war is taken up just at the point where the Roman History breaks off, that is, with the struggle between Narses and Buccellinus in the year 553, except that the sending of the auxiliary Langobard troops to the army of Narses, which occurred in Totila's lifetime, is put at the head. Therefore, the pieces fit together as closely as could be expected, and Paul has arranged his history of Italy, or rather he has modified his original plan, in such a way that he has entitled the first sixteen books as the Roman History, and his last six books as the History of the Langobards. * * *"[1]

[1] Ebert (Litteratur des Mittelalters, II, 45, note 1) insists that we are not justified in considering Paul's "History of the Langobards" as a continuation of his "Roman History" and that we cannot speak of a history of Italy composed of the two works,

"This relation of the two works of Paul is also useful in the question of the sources, since the latter part of the Roman History and the Roman portions of the Langobard History must be combined in the investigation. Since the introduction of Droysen (the editor of Paul's Roman History) only dealt with the former, I will now attempt to show briefly that the results found by him are applicable here, and that in fact *a chronicle now lost or incompletely preserved lies at the basis of these sources.* When we separate from the first four books (I include also the 3d and 4th in the circle of investigation) everything which can be traced with probability either to Gregory of Tours and his continuers, or to Secundus of Trent and his continuers, or to the literature known to Paul which is not in the nature of a chronicle, there remain approximately the following portions:

"Book I, ch. 25. This is the section already mentioned in regard to Justinian's government in general. What Paul says at the end in regard to the authors Cassiodorus, Dionisius the Less, Priscian and Arator, is not taken from a chronicle, but from the titles and prefaces of their works, and it further confirms his extensive knowledge of literature.

Book II, ch. 1 to 5 (compare Book III, ch. 12). History of Narses and of the immigration of the Langobards into Italy, after deducting from it what can belong to Secundus (Mommsen, p. 78).

Book II, ch. 11, Narses' death.

Book III, chs. 11 and 12, Justin II, Tiberius Constantine, after deducting the extensive extracts taken from Gregory and the Liber Pontificalis.

taken together, since the Roman history deals with the whole empire and not Italy alone. In a strict sense this is true, yet in a more general way, Mommsen's view is not without justification and elucidates very clearly the connection of the two works.

Book III, chs. 15, 22, Maurice, after deducting what belongs to Gregory.

Book IV, ch. 26, Maurice, Focas.

Book IV, ch. 29, Death of Pope Gregory.

Book IV, ch. 36, Focas, Heraclius.

Book IV, ch. 49, Sons of Heraclius. Constantine (the so-called Constans II)."

"If we compare with these accounts the annalistic narratives which have come to us from other quarters, many of them are repeated in such a way that their common origin is undoubted. Such analogies occur repeatedly between Paul on the one side and on the other side Isidore and the Copenhagen Continuer of Prosper. But above all there appear such close relations between this portion of Paul and the Chronicle of Bede that they agree even in their false statements, which is always the surest guide."[1]

Mommsen here compares with Paul (Book IV, ch. 36) certain passages from Isidore, from the Copenhagen Continuer of Prosper,[2] and from Bede. He (81) thinks it strange that Paul

[1] Thus they reckon the period of the kingdom of the Vandals as ninety-six years, as Paul also estimates it in his Roman history. Justinian and Procopius reckoned it at ninety-five years, which number is official and correct. Pope Gregory died in the seventh indiction; Paul as well as Bede places his death in the eighth. Both have alike in incorrect order, the sons of Heraclius, Constantinus and Heracleones, reigning for a short time after each other. (Mommsen, 79.)

[2] Otherwise called the Langobard Chronicle of 641—a chronicle discovered by Waitz in Copenhagen which comes down to that year. Up to 378 it is merely a brief extract from Jerome, with short additions upon the margin. From 378 to 455 it is a literal copy of the Chronicle of Prosper with a few additions from Isidore, etc. From 455 to 523 it is a compilation from the Annals of Ravenna, with additions from Isidore, from a Gallic, annalistical

should have taken nothing further from Isidore's Chronicle than a statement concerning the quarrels between the Greens and Blues, and that he should have taken this account and the following one in Isidore about the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in the same order as Isidore has them, but only the first in the words of Isidore and the second, word for word from Bede. Mommsen adds that the conduct of the authors of the early Middle Ages as compilers offers extraordinary problems; that in Paul's History a number of statements remain which come neither from Langobard sources nor from Isidore or Bede, and he insists that *Paul has used for the later books of his Roman History, as well as for his Langobard History, certain annals composed in the Byzantine portions of Italy and now lost.* What kind of a chronicle this was can in a manner be determined, and Mommsen in describing it says that accounts of the occurrences in the East were not completely lacking (IV, 36), but were scanty, and that the horizon of the author was not that of Constantinople, but of Rome or Ravenna (Mommsen, 82); that the chronicle introduced the names of the emperors with an enumeration of their order (P. III, 12), the number of years of the reign of each, and here and there a brief statement of the emperor's origin and early condition of life (P. III, 11, 12, 15); that Paul's characterization of Justinian comes from this group of sources, yet it cannot be traced back to any of the documents that have come down to us; that we recognize Amtalas, the king of the

source and from a catalogue of the bishops of Milan, all arranged according to the years of the consuls. After 523 the annalistical form is abandoned and it is derived from unknown sources. Schmidt (22) thinks the two last portions are by different authors. Bethmann (381) believed that the chronicler used Secundus as one of his sources. Jacobi (80–84) disproves this. The chronicle is of little authority (Schmidt, 24, 25).

Moors, from John of Corippus and Procopius' history of the Vandals, but that no western source mentions his name except Paul.

Mommsen thus continues (p. 82): "The remarkable resumé of the legislation of Justinian must be attributed to the same source, owing to the connection in which it appears, and it is not without significance that this is the only testimony at hand of the complete publication of the Novels of Justinian. The accounts relating to Narses, especially those concerning the Gothic war of Buccellinus, and of the transfer of Narses' body to Constantinople for burial can not well be attributed to Secundus in their totality, for the account is given from the Roman standpoint, and most of the events mentioned do not refer to the Langobards. Paul took from these annals of the Eastern Empire, and not from the Langobard annals, his account of the expedition of Heraclianus for the overthrow of Focas, of which no Latin author, so far as I know, makes any mention. *Isidore, Bede, Paul and the Copenhagen Continuer of Prosper, have drawn from this common source, but not one from the other.* * * *"

"A series of other questions is connected with these. It is very probable that the Liber Pontificalis, which also belongs to Byzantine Italy, was closely related to these Italian annals of the Eastern Empire. Indeed, the question can be asked *whether the numerous and extensive extracts which pass with Bede and with Paul as excerpts from the Liber Pontificalis may not rather have been taken from these annals.* Unfortunately, owing to the lack of a critical edition of the Liber Pontificalis, and the uncertainty resulting from versions that vary greatly from each other, this can hardly be decided at the present time" (Mommsen, p. 84).

Waitz in Neues Archiv, V, 423 *et seq*, thus answers Mommsen's contentions:

"So far as it relates to the Roman accounts, I agree with

Mommsen that Paul used one or several works of annals, lost to us, in his History of the Langobards as well as in his Roman History. But I see no ground, therefore, to strike Bede or the Liber Pontificalis out of the list of the books used by him, and to trace back to such a lost work the accounts which correspond with them in part word for word."

(3) *Catalogue of the Provinces of Italy.*

Mommsen (p. 84), discusses Paul's description of the provinces of Italy (II, 14 to 24) and the sources from which it is derived. He tells us that Diocletian divided Italy into twelve districts as follows: 1. Raetia. 2. Venetia and Histria. 3. Aemilia and Liguria. 4. The Cottian Alps. 5. Flaminia and Picenum. 6. Tuscia and Umbria. 7. Campania and Samnium. 8. Apulia and Calabria. 9. Lucania and Bruttii. 10. Corsica. 11. Sardinia. 12. Sicily. The number of districts before the end of the fourth century rose to sixteen, by dividing Raetia into first and second Raetia, and by separating Aemilia from Liguria, Picenum Suburbicarium from Flaminia and Picenum Annonarium, and Campania from Samnium. The oldest complete list of the Italian provinces contained in the Calendar of Polemius Silvius gives this number. But before 399, the number was increased to seventeen, through the establishment of Valeria.

It is these seventeen provinces which Paul described in his catalogue of the provinces of Italy. "If he gives eighteen," continues Mommsen (p. 86), "this rests upon a mistake made by him, the discovery and removal of which, however, he has placed in our hands in his honorable way. The Apennine Alps constitute his ninth province, which according to him begin from the Cottian Alps and lie between Tuscia and Umbria on the one side and Aemilia and Flaminia on the other, and comprise the places Bobbio, Verona, Frignano by Bologna, Monteveglio by Cesena and Urbino. But this province lies in the air. Of the places which Paul contributes to this ninth

province, he elsewhere puts Bobbio in the Cottian Alps (II, 16; IV, 41), Verona in Venetia (II, 14), Frignano and Monteveglio in Aemilia (VI, 49), and therefore refutes himself in a most thorough manner, which indeed was not necessary, since the territories between which this province lies, Tuscia, Umbria, Flaminia, Picenum, adjoin each other. * * Strike out this province improperly imported, and Paul's list corresponds exactly with the above-mentioned list of seventeen provinces."

A map of the provinces of Italy, according to Paul, was prepared for Mommsen by Kiepert, and a copy of it is here inserted.

The source from which Paul derived this list of the provinces of Italy forms the subject of an interesting discussion between Mommsen and Waitz.

Waitz in his edition of Paul's History (p. 188) publishes in an appendix the following catalogue of the provinces of Italy as contained in a manuscript of the tenth century in the Madrid Library:

The first province is Venetia. This Venetia contains Verona, Vincentia, Patavium, Mantua and other cities, but among all, the city of Aquileia was the capital, in place of which just now is Forum Julii, so called because Julius Cæsar had established a market there for business.

The second province is Liguria, in which is Mediolanum and Ticinum, which is called by another name, Papia. It stretches to the boundaries of the *Langobards*. Between this and the country of the Alamani are two provinces, that is First Reptia and Second Reptia lie among the Alps, in which properly the Reti are known to dwell.

The Cottian Alps are called the third province. This extends from Liguria in a southerly direction up to the Tyrrenian Sea, and on the west it is *reckoned* from the boundaries of the Gauls. In it are contained Aquis (where there are hot springs) and the cities of Dertona, Genua and Saona and the monastery of Bovium.

The fourth province is Tuscia. This includes Aurelia

The Provinces of Italy According to Paul the Deacon.
Kiepert Neus Archiv. V, p. 104.

[f. p. 380]

toward the northwest and Umbria on the eastern side. In this province Rome was situated, which was *at one time* capital of the whole world. In Umbria are Perusium and Lake Clitorius and Spoletium.

Campania, the fifth province stretches from the city of Rome to the Siler, a river of Lucania. In it the very rich cities of Capua, Neapolis and Salernum are situated.

The sixth province, Lucania, begins at the river Siler and extends with Oritia[1] as far as the Sicilian strait along the coast of the Tirrenian Sea, like the two last named provinces, holding the right horn of Italy. In it cities are placed, *that is*, Pestus, Laynus, Cassanus, Cosentia, *Malvitus* and Regium.

The seventh province is reckoned in the Apennine Alps, which take their origin from the place where the Cottian Alps terminate. These Apennine Alps, extending through the middle of Italy, separate Tuscia from Emilia, and Umbria from Flaminea. In it are the cities of Feronianum and Montebellium and Bovium and Orbinum, and also the town which is called Verona.

The eighth province, Emilia, beginning from *the province* of Liguria, extends towards Ravenna between the Apennine Alps and the waters of the Padus. It *contains* wealthy cities: Plagentia, Regio, Boonia and the Forum of Cornelius, the fortress of which is called Imola.

The ninth province, Flaminea, is placed between the Apennine Alps and the Adriatic Sea. In it are Ravenna, most noble of cities, and five other cities which in the Greek tongue are called Pentapolis.

The tenth province, Picenum, comes after Flaminea. It has on the south the Apennine mountains, on the other side, the Adriatic Sea. It extends to the river Piscaria. In it are the cities Firmus, Asculus and Pennis, also (Hadriae) consumed with old age.[2]

Valeria, the eleventh province, to which Nursia is attached, is situated between Umbria and Campania, and Picenum, and

[1] Evidently a mistake for Britia (Bruttium).

[2] Waitz supplies here "Hadriae" from Paul's History.

it touches on the east the region of Samnium. This contains the cities of Tibur, Carsiolis, Reate, Forconis and Amiternum, and the regions of the Marsians and their lake which is called Focinus.

The twelfth province, Samnium, is between Campania and the Adriatic Sea and Apulia. This begins at the Piscaria. In it are the cities of Theate, Aufidianum, Hisernia and Sampnium, consumed by its old age, from which the whole province is named, and that most wealthy Beneventum, the capital of this province.

The thirteenth province is Apulia, united with it Calabria. It contains the tolerably rich cities of Luceria, Sipontum, Canusium, Acerentia, Brundisium, Tarentum, and in the left horn of Italy, *lying distant* fifty miles, Ydrontum, fitted for commerce.

The island of Sicily is reckoned the fourteenth province. *In this province are very rich cities, among which is the great city of Syracuse.*

The fifteenth province is the island of Corsica, *which is full of corners with many promontories.*

The sixteenth province is the island of Sardinia. Both of these are girt by the waves of the Tirrenian Sea. *This extends into the African sea in the shape of the human foot, more broadly in the west as well as in the east, its sides being alike in shape. It extends in length north and south 140 miles, in breadth 40 miles.*[1]

[1] The first province, Venetia, is mentioned in language quite different from the description of Paul—otherwise the resemblance of the above catalogue to Paul's account of the provinces of Italy is very close. There are a number of grammatical errors in this catalogue where the corresponding sentences are written correctly in Paul. The names of many of the places are spelled differently, the First Raetia and Second Raetia, although named, are not enumerated here, but are included in Paul's enumeration, hence the numbering is different after the second province, and there are a few matters (printed above in italics) which are not found in Paul, or where Paul's statement differs from the catalogue. Many additional matters are found in Paul.

Waitz, in his appendix (p. 188) insists (following Bethmann) that the prototype of this catalogue is earlier than the time of Paul, and that Paul copied and cited it, and made additions to it drawn mostly from Isidore. Mommsen declares (p. 88) that this is an error, that the catalogue is a mere epitome of Paul. He says: "Paul enumerates, as we have seen, eighteen provinces, the catalogue sixteen, both with the inclusion of the fictitious Apennine Alps. The difference consists in this, that both of the Raetiae are enumerated by Paul, since they were well known to belong to the diocese of Italy ever since there was such a diocese, and in the catalogue, on the other hand, these two provinces are named, but they are not enumerated. This is explained very simply by a stupid misunderstanding of Paul's language of which the writer of the Madrid catalogue was guilty. Paul names Liguria as the second province, then adds the two provinces of First and Second Raetia, and then enumerates the Cottian Alps as the fifth. The epitomizer copies this, word for word, but because Paul does not designate the third and fourth, as he was otherwise accustomed to do, as *tertia* and *quarta*, but only as two provinces, when the epitomizer goes on mechanically with his numbering, he makes the fifth of Paul the third, and so on. This silly oversight puts it beyond doubt that the Madrid catalogue is nothing but a bad extract from our Paul."

Mommsen insists (p. 89) that Paul's list is nothing else than an extract of the catalogue which has subsequently come down to us in the Speier and Bamberg-Oxford manuscripts. He compares these manuscripts with each other, and declares that the remarkable resemblance of this catalogue with Paul in its substance as well as in the collateral observations which it contains (for instance, in referring to the Tyrrenian sea in connection with each of the three islands) strikes the eye at once. This catalogue did not merely comprise the provinces of Italy, but all the provinces of the still existing Roman empire, and it

belonged to a compilation extending back far beyond the time of Paul and probably to the fifth century. This is confirmed by a closer comparison, for while the catalogue is essentially reproduced (although with an author's freedom) in Paul's description, it offers the key to Paul's doubts and mistakes. This appears especially in regard to the unfortunate Apennine Alps. There was actually no Alpine province except the Cottian Alps, but Paul found that province described in the catalogue as "the Cottian and Apennine Alps," and this false name occurs both in the Speier and Bamberg-Oxford manuscripts. What Paul says (II, 20) of the region of the Marsians, that "it was not at all described by the ancients in the Catalogue of the Provinces of Italy," accords with these manuscripts. Finally, the remark (II, 18), "there were also some who called Aemilia and Valeria and Nursia one province," found its evident explanation, according to Mommsen, in the confusion which prevailed between the Speier catalogue on the one side and the Bamberg-Oxford on the other, and was taken, Mommsen thinks, from the original manuscript which lay at the foundation of both.

In the Speier manuscript we have (Mommsen, p. 90):

"The provinces of Italy are seventeen.

First. Campania, in which is Capua.
Second. Tuscia with Umbria, in which is Rome.
* * * * * * * * *
Fourth. Nursia, Valeria, in which is Reate.
Fifth. Flammina, in which is Ravenna," etc.

In the Bamberg and Oxford catalogue we have:

"The provinces of Italy then are sixteen.

First. Campania, in which is Capua.
Second. Tuscia with Umbria.
Third. Emilia, Nursia, Valeria.
Fourth. Flaminia, in which is the city of Ravenna," etc.

This must mean that the third province was Emilia, the fourth Nursia and Valeria, and that in the Speier list Emilia had dropped out, but the enumeration was in order, while in the Bamberger list the word "fourth" had dropped out between the words "Emilia" and "Nursia," and as a result of this, the numbering of the subsequent provinces was altered. Mommsen suggests that in the manuscript before him Paul may have read "Third, Emilia, Nursia, Valeria, Fifth, Flaminia, etc." and that it can easily be understood that he hesitated whether Emilia, Nursia and Valeria constituted one province and that a mistake was made in the subsequent enumeration, or whether the word "Fourth" was dropped after "Emilia," which on the whole he preferred to believe (Mommsen, 91, 92).

Waitz (Neues Archiv, V, 417) controverts the view taken by Mommsen, and insists that Paul took his list of provinces from the catalogue in the Madrid manuscript as well as from the source of the Speier catalogue. He refers to several observations by Paul indicating a double prototype, and adds in regards to the "stupid misunderstanding" attributed by Mommsen to the writer of the Madrid catalogue in changing the enumeration by numbering the provinces mechanically: "I think it would have been still more mechanical for a simple copyist or epitomizer to adhere to the enumeration of Paul. But for an author who composed the Madrid catalogue upon the basis of an old prototype yet with a certain independence, there could well be reasons for naming both the Raetiae after his source, but not counting them as provinces of Italy. He must have written at a time when they were not connected with the rest of Italy, but belonged to the kingdom of the Franks. When Paul varied from this and went back to the old enumeration and turned 'the third' into 'the fifth,' he might be induced to do this through the other (Speier) list, which included both the Raetiae, especially when the reason for excluding them from

Italy ceased to exist, or had at least, become less important, since at the time of Charlemagne everything was united under one sovereignty, and the antiquarian point of view, so to speak, in the enumeration could alone come into operation. Paul acts, moreover, under all circumstances, with a certain freedom in his enumeration, since he has not sixteen provinces like the Bamberg and Oxford text, and in another way the Madrid catalogue; not seventeen as the Speier catalogue properly contains (although it enumerates them with the omission of the third), but eighteen. Eighteen because (improperly as Mommsen says, but coinciding with the Madrid catalogue) the Apennine Alps are introduced besides the Cottian Alps. Paul might well be induced by the passage in Victor in regard to the Cottian Alps to give the preference to one prototype over the other, but not, if he had only one before him, to depart wholly from this one.

"From this come into force, I think, all the grounds which otherwise speak in favor of the priority of the Madrid catalogue. It contains something more than Paul, which would be hard to understand in an excerpt which is otherwise so literal. * * In regard to the islands of Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia, there are statements which, as Mommsen remarks, are all taken from Isidore, and in regard to which one can hardly understand how the author of the list came to add them if he otherwise did nothing except make excerpts from Paul. * * * *

"He (Paul) is much more complete (than the Madrid manuscript), and has a large number of statements which are not found in that catalogue. The source of these can be pointed out with more or less certainty and more than formerly now that we can compare the Speier list. *Apart from this list there is not a single statement to be found in the Madrid catalogue where the source can be traced.* If this catalogue was an excerpt from Paul, the author must have subtracted with wonderful skill, one could say with genuine divination,

everything which is not borrowed from Festus, Jordanis and Isidore, in order then, on the other side, to add something else out of the same Isidore. That is simply impossible, and I think I have shown that every reason fails to support such a view."

Waitz thus sums up his conclusion: "Upon the basis of the older 'Notitia Provinciarum' there was developed after the middle of the seventh century and during the time of the Langobards a sketch of the provinces which has come down to us in the form of the Madrid manuscript. Paul incorporated it almost completely in his book, but compared it with the older, shorter and in many ways different composition, which was also known to him, and which is known to us in the Speier and Bamberg-Oxford manuscripts, and he added, moreover, certain etymological and historical statements which his considerable learning in the old writings placed at his disposition."

The arguments presented by Waitz appear convincing. Paul's method of using his authorities, especially in the early portion of his history, is generally to follow them pretty closely, sometimes almost word for word, and following the order and arrangement of his original,[1] and it does not seem probable that he would have arbitrarily changed entirely the order of the Speier list, as was done in his enumeration, if that list had been his only authority.

[1] Compare for instance his method of treatment of the miracles of St. Benedict in the verses in Book I (see Appendix III), where he follows strictly the order observed by St. Gregory in his Dialogues (Book II).

Index of Sources (Jacobi 89).[1]

BOOK I.

I, Isidore Etymol., XIV, IV, 2, Origo. *II*, Origo, Pliny, IV, 27 (13). *III*, Origo. *V*, Bede De Temp. Rat., cap. 31; Cosmographer of Ravenna, I, 11. *VI*, Virgil's Æneid, III, 420. *VII*, *VIII*, Origo. *IX*, Origo; Isidore, Etym., IX, 2; Life of St. Columban, ch. 43. *X*, Origo. *XI*, Cosmographer of Ravenna, I, 11. *XIII*, *XIV*, Origo. *XV*, Pliny Nat. Hist., VII, 3. *XVIII*, Origo. *XIX*, Origo and Eugippius' Life of Severinus, Ch. 1; III (sec. 15), IX (sec. 39), XI, XII (sec. 57); Jordanis, Ed. Lindenbr. Hamb. 1611, p. 59. *XX*, *XXI*, *XXII*, Origo. *XXV*, Bede's Chron., AM. 4518, Paul's Roman Hist., XVI, 11–19 (see Mommsen, 56, note); Isidore's Chron., AM. 5762; Annalistic source; Justinian, 2d preface to Pandects, perhaps derived from a legal text book connected with a Turin manuscript; see Fitting, Juristical Writings of the Middle Ages, Halle, 1876, p. 103, 131–145; see Jacobi, p. 88. *XXVI*, Gregory's Dialogues, Bk. II, see Appendix III, *infra*., Marcus Casinensis (line 38, Muratori Script, IV, 605, 606). *XXVII*, Origo.

[1] The italics refer to the various chapters in Paul. For brevity I have omitted Jacobi's references to the particular sentences, phrases and words used by Paul and taken from the various authorities named. These will be found in most cases by comparing the source cited here, with the reference to that source in the previous portion of this appendix. I have also added to the sources mentioned by Jacobi a number of additional sources mentioned by Waitz and Mommsen. Chapters and parts of chapters derived from unknown sources are not referred to in the above index.

BOOK II.

I, Jordanis, Ed. Lindenbr. Hamb., 1611, p. 67; Annalistic source. *II*, Greg. Tours, III, 32; Annalistic source. *III*, Annalistic source. *IV*, Bede; Annalistic source. *V*, Liber Pontif, John, III; Fredegarius Epitom., 65 (?); St. Gregory's Homil. I on the Gospels, Dialogues III, 38. *VI*, Gregory of Tours, IV, 42, 43; V, 15. *VII*, Origo, Secundus. *VIII*, Isidore, Etym., XIV, 14, 16. *IX*, Secundus; Isidore, Etym., XIV, IV, 19. *X*, Gregory of Tours, IV, 22, 23, 27, 29; Lib. Pontif. Benedict, I; Secundus. *XI*, Lib. Pontif., John, III. *XII*, Secundus. *XIII*, Venant. Fortunat. Life of St. Martin, IV, 640–700. *XIV*, Secundus; Madrid Catalogue of the Provinces of Italy (Waitz, p. 188); Speier Manuscript and Bamberg-Oxford Catalogue (Mommsen, 90, 91); Annalistic source; Isidore, Etymol., XIII, 19; XIV, 4, 18; Festus, 84; Jordanis de Reb. Get., ch. 29. *XV*, Madrid, Speier & Bamberg Catalogues. *XVI*, Isidore, Etymol., XIV, IV, 20, 21; same catalogues. *XVII*, Isidore, Etymol., XV, I, 64; Festus (ed. Müller), p. 119; Jordanis de Reb. Get., ch. 30; same catalogues. *XVIII*, Sextus Aurelius Victor, De Cæsar. ch. 5, Nero; Isidore, XIV, VIII, 13; same catalogues. *XIX*, Festus, 212; same catalogues. *XX*, Isidore, XIV, IV, 22; Festus, 327; same catalogues. *XXII*, Isidore, XIV, VI, 30, 35, 34; same catalogues. *XXIII*, Donatus, see Servius on Æneid, X, 200; Justin., Epit., XXIV, 4, 8; XXV, 2; XX, 5; XXIV, 4; same catalogues. *XXIV*, Isidore, XIV, IV, 18; Festus, p. 40, 4. *XXV*, Secundus. *XXVI*, *XXVII*, Origo; Secundus. *XXVIII*, *XXIX*, *XXX*, Origo. *XXXI*, Secundus. *XXXII*, Secundus; Gregory of Tours, IV, 41; St. Gregory's Dialogues, III, 38.

BOOK III.

I, *II*, *III*, *IV*, Greg. Tours, IV, 42; VI, 6. *V*, *VI*, Greg.

Tours, IV, 42. *VII*, Greg. Tours, V, 15. *VIII*, Greg. Tours, IV, 44. *IX*, Secundus. *X*, Greg. Tours, IV, 51, 52; V, 1; Secundus. *XI*, Greg. Tours, IV, 39–40; V, 19, 30; Lib. Pontif. Benedict I. *XII*, Greg. Tours, V, 19–30. *XIII*, Greg. Tours, VI, 2; Bede, 4529; Secundus. *XIV*, Secundus. *XV*, Greg. Tours, VI, 30. *XVI*, Secundus. *XVII*, Greg. Tours, VI, 42. *XVIII*, Secundus; Epitaph of Droctulft. *XIX*, Epit. Droct. *XX*, Lib. Pontif. Pelagius II; Secundus. *XXI*, Greg. Tours, V, 39; VIII, 28; Bede, 4536. *XXII*, Greg. Tours, VIII, 18; Secundus. *XXIII*, Secundus; St. Gregory's Dialogues, III, 19; Greg. Tours, X, praef. *XXIV*, Greg. Tours, X, 1. *XXV*, Lib. Pontif. Gregory I; Bede, 4536. *XXVI*, *XXVII*, Secundus. *XXVIII*, *XXIX*, Greg. Tours, IX, 25. *XXX*, Secundus. *XXXI*, Greg. Tours, X, 2, 3; Secundus. *XXXIII*, Beneventine account. *XXXIV*, Greg. Tours, X, 3; Legend of Châlons. *XXXV*, Greg. Tours, X, 3; Secundus.

BOOK IV.

I, *II*, *III*, Secundus; Origo; *IV*, *V*, Secundus; Dialogues of Gregory the Great. *VII*, Secundus. *VIII*, Lib. Pontif. Gregory I; Secundus; Gregory's Homily on Ezek. Preface, Bk. II. *IX*, St. Gregory's Letters, IX, 42–43. *X*, id., IX, 43; Secundus. *XI*, *XII*, *XIII*, *XIV*, *XV*, *XVI*, Secundus. *XVII*, Gregory's Dialogues, II, Preface and 17. *XVIII*, Secundus; Benevent. account. *XIX*, Gregory's Letters, XII, 21. *XX*, *XXI*, Secundus. *XXII*, Isidore, Etym., XIX, 22. *XXIII*, *XXIV*, *XXV*, *XXVI*, *XXVII*, *XXVIII*, Secundus. *XXIX*, Bede, 4565; Lib. Pontif. Sabinian; Secundus; Gregory's Letters, IV, 47. *XXX*, *XXXI*, *XXXII*, *XXXIII*, Secundus. *XXXIV*, Lib. Pontif. Deusdedit, Boniface, V. *XXXV*, Secundus. *XXXVI*, Bede, 4565; Isidore, Chron. AM., 5809; Secundus. *XXXVII*, Friulan legend. *XXXVIII*, see Fredegarius' Chronicle, 50–69 (?). *XXXIX*,

Secundus. *XL*, Secundus and his continuer; Origo. *XLI*, List of Langobard kings; Fredegarius, ch. 49 (?). *XLII*, Origo; Edict Rothari, sec. 386 and Prologue; Benevent. account. *XLIII*, *XLIV*, Benevent. account. *XLV*, Origo; Lib. Pontif. Deusdedit. *XLVI*, Benevent. account. *XLVII*, Origo; see Fredegarius' Chronicle, 51 (?). *XLVIII*, List of the kings. *XLIX*, Bede, 4591, 4593, 4594, 4622. *L*, Fredegarius' Chronicle, 9 (?); Friulan account; Catalogue of dukes of Spoleto. *LI*, Pavian and Benevent. accounts.

BOOK V.

VI, *XI*, Lib. Pontif. Vitalian. *XII*, *XIII*, *XV*, Lib. Pontif. Adeodat. *XXX*, Bede, 4639; Lib. Pontif. Adeodat; id., Vitalian. *XXXI*, Lib. Pontif. Donus. *XXXV*, List of the kings.

BOOK VI.

I, *II*, Benevent. account. *III*, Friulan account. *IV*, Lib. Pontif. Agatho; Bede, 4639. *V*, Lib. Pontif. Agatho; Bede, 4622. *IX*, Lib. Pontif. Benedict, II. *X*, *XI*, Bede, 4649. *XII*, Bede, 4649–4652. *XIII*, Bede, 4665. *XIV*, Bede, 4659, 4639; *XV*, Bede, Eccles. History, V, 7. *XXIV*, *XXV*, *XXVI*, Friulan account. *XXVII*, Benevent. account; Lib. Pontif., John, VI. *XXVIII*, Bede, 4659; Lib. Pontif. John, VII; id., Constantine, I. *XXIX*, Lib. Pontif., Constantine, I. *XXX*, Catalogue of dukes of Spoleto. *XXXI*, Lib. Pontif., John, VII; Bede, 4665; Lib. Pontif., Constantine, I. (Muratori, p. 153, n. 16.) *XXXII*, Bede, 4665–4667; *XXXIV*, Bede, 4667, 4670. *XXXVI*, Lib. Pontif. Gregory, II; Bede, 4671. *XXXVII*, Bede, 4671. *XXXIX*, Benevent. account. *XL*, Monte Cassino account; Life of Paldo, Tasso and Tato by Autpert; Lib. Pontif. Gregory II. *XLI*, Bede, 4680. *XLII*, Frankish annals, see Chron. Moiss. M. G. SS., 1,290. *XLIII*, Bede, 4670; Lib. Pontif. Gregory II. *XLIV*, Lib. Pontif. Gregory, II. *XLV*, Catalogue

of the Patriarchs of Aquileia; Friulan legend. *XLVI*, Lib. Pontif.; Gregory II. See Chron. Moiss. M. G. SS., 1,291, 292. *XLVII*, *XLVIII*, Bede, 4680; Lib. Pontif. Gregory II; *XLIX*, Lib. Pontif. Gregory II. *L*, Benevent. account. *LI*, Friulan account. *LIV*, Frankish Annals; see Chron. Moiss. *LVIII*, Miracles in the Life of St. Baodolinus.

APPENDIX III.

PAUL THE DEACON'S POEMS IN HONOR OF ST. BENEDICT.[1]

(Contained in Book I, Ch. 26, of the foregoing History.)

Where, holy Benedict, shall I begin the long tale of thy triumphs?
Countless thy virtues to tell; where shall thy bard begin?

Father and saint, all hail! Thy name proclaimeth thy virtue,[2]
Shining light of the world! father and saint all hail!

Nursia,[3] praise him well, by such son proudly exalted,
Bringing the stars to the world—Nursia abundantly praise!

O the decorum of boyhood![4] Transcending his years by his virtues,
Passing the wisdom of age,[5] O the decorum of youth!

[1] The second book of the Dialogues of Gregory the Great elucidate the meaning of these distichs of which some would otherwise be incomprehensible.

[2] *Benedictus*, "blessed." St. Gregory calls him "Blessed by grace and by name" (Dialogues, Book II, Introduction).

[3] The birthplace of St. Benedict in Umbria (id.).

[4] He was sent to Rome to study literature and science, but while yet a boy was filled with loathing at the profligacy of his fellow-students (id.).

[5] St. Gregory says of him that he bore the heart of an old man from the very time of his boyhood. St. Gregory also says, "Indeed, surpassing his age in his morals, he gave his mind to no pleasure" (id.).

Flower of the garden of heaven, the blossoms of earth despising,[1]
Prized not the riches of Rome,[2] flower of the garden of heaven!

Sadly the governess bore the broken halves of the vessel;
Joyfully, when restored, bore the preceptress the sieve.[3]

He who is named from the city, 'mid rocks concealeth the novice—
Treasures of piety bears—he who is named from the town.[4]

Praises resound from the caves, deep hid from the vision of mortals;
Known, Christ, only to thee, praises resound from the caves.[5]

[1] This again comes from St. Gregory. "He already despised the world in its bloom as if it were withered" (id.).

[2] He left Rome for a hermitage at a boyish age. As St. Gregory says, "He withdrew therefore, knowingly ignorant and wisely unlearned" (id).

[3] His nurse or governess, who had taught him and brought him up in infancy, followed him from Rome and tended him. To prepare food for him she borrowed from a neighbor an earthen sieve or vessel for cleaning wheat; she broke it and was in great distress, not having the money to replace it. Benedict repaired it by a miracle (Dialogues II, Chapter I). St. Gregory says "But Benedict, the religious and pious boy, when he saw his nurse weeping, filled with pity for her grief, took away both parts of the broken sieve and tearfully betook himself to prayer. When he arose from his prayer he found the vessel whole and sound at his side, so that no trace of the fracture could be found in it, and presently, having kindly consoled his nurse, he returned the sieve to her whole and sound which she had brought to him broken" (id.).

[4] Benedict fled from his nurse and sought the solitude of waste places, whereupon the monk Romanus (whose name is derived from Rome which was pre-eminently "the City") concealed him in a cave and ministered to his necessities (Dialogues, II, ch. 1).

[5] Benedict remained three years in this cave at Sublacus (Subiaco) about forty miles from Rome (id).

Frost and the tempest and snow three years thou unwearied endurest;
Filled with God's love thou dost scorn frost and the tempest and snow.

Holy devices are pleasing; approved are the tricks of the pious,
Whereby the saint was sustained—holy devices delight.[1]

"Here is the feast of God's love," he signals; the spiteful one checks him;
None the less faith undismayed signals "The feast is at hand."[2]

Duly observes he the festivals who lendeth ear to Christ's teaching,
And when he breaketh his fast, duly observes he the feast.[3]

[1] "This Romanus," says St. Gregory, "lived not far off in a monastery under the rule of father Adeodatus. But he piously stole away his hours from the presence of this same father of his, and carried to Benedict on certain days what bread he could purloin for him to eat. There was no way indeed to his cave from the cell of Romanus, because this cell stood high above the rocks. But Romanus was accustomed to let down the bread from that rock tied by a very long cord on which cord he put a little bell, so that the man of God at the sound of the bell might know when Romanus was offering him bread and go and get it" (id.).

[2] "But the ancient enemy," continues St. Gregory, "envying the charity of the one and the refreshment of the other, when upon a certain day he beheld Romanus letting down the bread, threw a stone and broke the little bell. Romanus, however, did not cease from providing for St. Benedict in appropriate ways" (id).

[3] After the death of Romanus, God appeared to a certain priest who was making ready a meal for himself for the Easter festival and said, "You are preparing delicacies for yourself while my servant is tormented by hunger." So the priest sought St. Benedict and found him in his cave; and after prayer and holy conversation the priest said, "Rise, let us take food, for to-day is Eas-

Eager the swineherds bear to the cave the food that is grateful,
Coming with willing hearts, pleasant the food they bear.[1]

Fire is by fire overcome, with sharp thorns tearing the body,
Flesh is by spirit subdued, fire is by fire overcome.[2]

Deadly the poison concealed, yet, perceived from afar by the shrewd one,
Brooked not the sign of the cross—deadly the poison concealed.[3]

ter." Since Benedict lived far from men he did not know that the Easter festival was on that day, but the priest again affirmed it, saying, "Truly to-day is the day of Easter, of the Resurrection of our Lord. It is not at all fitting for thee to fast and I have been sent for this purpose that we may partake together of the gifts of God Almighty." Then blessing God, they took food (id).

[1] The neighboring shepherds (or swineherds), discover St. Benedict in his concealment and supply the meagre food required by the hermit (id).

[2] St. Benedict when at Sublacus was tempted by an evil spirit (which came to him in the form of a blackbird) with the recollection of a beautiful woman, whereupon he rushed from his cave and flung himself naked into a thicket of briers and nettles. Thereupon the fiends left him and he was never again beset with the same temptation. St. Gregory says, "Since he burned well without in his penances, he extinguished what was burning unlawfully within" (id. ch. 2).

[3] While Benedict was at Sublacus, a neighboring society of monks sent to request that he would place himself at their head. He yielded upon great persuasion and by the strictness of his life and rule filled them with rage, until one of them offered him poison in a cup of wine. Benedict blessed it with the sign of the cross, and the glass vessel in which it was contained was broken as if by a stone. Benedict then returned to his cave (id. ch. 3).

Gentle reproving of scourges steadies the wandering spirit,
Gently the blows of the scourge roaming destruction avert.[1]

Forth from the native rock, flows water in streams never failing,
Waters the hearts that are dry—ever unfailing the stream.[2]

[1] In one of the monasteries in the neighborhood, one of the brothers had an aversion to long prayers, and with a wandering disposition went out and busied himself with earthly and transitory things. After he had been admonished by the abbot he was brought to Benedict, who reproved him earnestly. For two days he observed the injunctions of the man of God but on the third day he went back to his old habit and began to wander at the time of prayer. Benedict came to the monastery and noticed that a little black boy was pulling the monk by the border of his garment. "Then he said secretly to Pompeianus the father of the monastery and to Maurus the servant of God—'Do you not see who it is that is drawing the monk outside?' And they answered and said, 'No.' And he said to them, 'We will pray that you also may see whom that monk is following.' And when they had prayed for two days the monk Maurus saw, but Pompeianus, the father of that monastery could not see. On another day then after prayers, the man of God went forth from the monastery and found the monk standing outside and struck him with a switch for the blindness of his heart and he from that day submitted to no further persuasion from the black boy, but remained immovable in his assiduity in prayer."

[2] Many came to Sublacus to serve God, drawn by the fame of Benedict's sanctity and miracles. He directed them to construct twelve monasteries in each of which he placed twelve disciples with a superior (ch. 3). On one occasion certain monks came to complain to him that three of the monasteries were in want of water. Benedict by his prayers procured a fountain which gushed forth and flowed down the mountain side (ch. 5).

Steel from the handle torn, thou seekest the deepest abysses,
Steel, thou desertest the depths, seeking the surface again.[1]

Bearing the father's commands, he flees and lives on the waters,
Borne by the waters he runs, bearing the father's commands.

Prompt to his master's bidding, the waves to him offered a pathway,
While he in ignorance ran, offered the waters a path.

Little lad, thou too art seized by the waves, yet perishest never,
Truthful witness art thou, little lad ready at hand.[2]

[1] At another time says Gregory, a certain Goth, poor in spirit came for conversion, whom Benedict the man of God received most willingly. On a certain day indeed he ordered that an iron tool be given to him, which from its likeness to a sickle (*falx*) is called a brush-hook (*falcastrum*), in order to cut away the briers from a certain place so that a garden should be made there. But the place which the Goth had undertaken to clear lay above the shore of a lake. And when that Goth was cutting away the thicket of thorns with the exertion of all his strength, the iron, springing forth from the handle, fell into the lake where the depth of the water was so great that there was no hope of getting back the tool. * * * Then Benedict the man of God hearing these things went to the lake. He took the handle from the hand of the Goth and cast it into the lake and presently the iron came back from the bottom and went into the handle, and straightway he returned the iron tool to the Goth saying "See, work and do not grieve" (ch. 6).

[2] These three distichs refer to Maurus and Placidius, two boys who were brought by their fathers, Equitius and Tertulius, to Benedict to be instructed (ch. 3). They became the chief disciples of St. Benedict, and were afterwards canonized. Placidius, while yet a child, in going to draw water, fell into a lake. Benedict, who was praying in his cell, had a revelation of the danger, and sent Maurus in all haste to help him. Maurus rushed to his assistance,

Hearts that are faithless groan, spurred on by malignant incentives;
Flaming with torrents of hell, hearts that are faithless groan.[1]

Beareth the raven with talons obliging the food that is offered;
Bidden, the raven bears far off the terrible food.[2]

Holy the bosom that mourns for a foe overthrown by destruction;
Holy the bosom that mourns when his disciple exults.[3]

Seeking the Liris' sweet places, full splendid the train that attends thee;
Prompted from heaven thou art, seeking the Liris' fair site.[4]

and without knowing it, trod the water as if it had been dry land (ch. 7). Benedict attributed this miracle to the obedience of Maurus, but Maurus disclaimed all merit. The boy Placidius as the "truthful witness" now appeared and declared that he had seen the garb of the saint above his head when he was drawn from the water (id.)

[1] The wicked priest Florentius, who was filled with jealousy and envy at the superior holiness of the saint, endeavored to blacken his reputation, and at last attempted his life by sending him a poisoned loaf (ch. 8).

[2] Benedict, when the poisoned loaf was given him, being aware of the treachery, threw it upon the ground and commanded a tame raven to carry it away and place it beyond the reach of any living creature, which was done (id.)

[3] After the attempt was made upon his life, the saint departed from Sublacus, but scarcely had he left the place when Maurus, his faithful disciple, sent a messenger to tell him that his enemy Florentius had been crushed by the fall of a gallery of his house. Benedict wept for Florentius, and imposed a penance on Maurus for an expression of triumph at the judgment which had overtaken their enemy (ch. 8).

[4] Benedict at last left Sublacus and proceeded to Monte Cassino,

Serpent accursèd! thou ravest, despoiled of thy grove and thy altars!
Banished the crowd that adored! Curst serpent, how dost thou rave![1]

Impious sitter! Depart! To the walls let marbles be given!
Thou art constrained by command! Impious sitter depart![2]

Greedy the fire that is seen arising in flashes deceitful;
Bright jewel! Not by thy eyes—fire that consumeth is seen.[3]

a delightful spot, where he afterwards established the parent Benedictine monastery of Italy. At the foot of Monte Cassino flowed the river Liris. (ch. 8, Waitz). Paul tells us (I, 26) that two angels in the shape of young men came to Benedict at the cross-roads and pointed out the way, also that he went thither by divine admonition.

[1] A temple to Apollo stood in a consecrated grove near the summit of Monte Cassino, where a nest of idolaters still worshiped the god, or, as he was then regarded, the demon. Benedict, who had heard of this abomination, came to the place, preached Christianity, converted the worshipers, broke the statue, threw down the altar, burned the consecrated grove, and built two chapels, one to St. John the Baptist and the other to St. Martin of Tours, on the spot where the god was worshiped. The "old enemy," as Gregory calls him, did not bear this in silence, but appeared before the blessed father very hideous and infuriated, and seemed to rave against him with flaming eyes, first calling him "Benedict" (blessed), and when he would not answer "Maledict" (accursed) (ch. 8).

[2] While the monks were building their monastery, a stone lay in the midst of them which they determined to lift into the building, but it was so immovable that it seemed evident that the "old enemy" was sitting upon it. The "man of God" was sent for, and when he had come and prayed and given his benediction, it was "lifted with such speed as if it had no weight before" (ch. 9).

[3] In digging the foundations of Monte Cassino, a bronze idol was

While they are building the wall, the flesh of a brother is mangled,
But his preserver is there, while they are building the wall.[1]

Things that were hid are revealed, the greedy exposed to the daylight;
Gifts that are secretly ta'en, quickly to him are revealed.[2]

discovered, from which issued a supernatural fire that to the brothers seemed if it would burn up the kitchen. They threw water on it and tried to put it out. When Benedict came, attracted by the tumult, he found that this fire existed only in the eyes of the monks, and was not visible to him. Whereupon he delivered them from the illusion of the fancied fire (ch. 10).

[1] One of the monks who was assisting in building the monastery was crushed, and was brought to St. Benedict, who prayed earnestly, restored him, and sent him back to his work safe and sound (ch. 11).

[2] It was the custom of the monastery that whenever the monks went out on any business, they should not partake of food and drink away from the convent. One day when they remained later than usual, they took refreshment at the house of a nun, and when they returned and asked the blessing of the saint, he inquired, "Where did you eat?" and they answered, "Nowhere," and he said to them, "Why do you lie? Did you not enter the dwelling of such a woman? Did you not take this and that food? Did you not drink so many goblets?" and when they saw he knew all they fell trembling at his feet and confessed (ch. 12). Much the same thing occurred to the brother of the monk Valentinian, who came fasting to Benedict, but was tempted to eat on the way by a companion accompanying him to the monastery (ch. 13). Also on one occasion St. Benedict sent one of his disciples to a company of nuns to deliver an exhortation. The nuns begged the monk to accept some handkerchiefs they had made, and he hid them in his bosom. On his return to the monastery Benedict asked "Why have you suffered iniquity to enter into your bosom?"

Tyrant cruel and fell! the snares of thy fraud are defeated;[1]
Tyrant stern! thou receiv'st bridle and curb for thy life![2]

Towering walls of Numa—never shall foe overthrow them;
Whirlwinds he says shall destroy Numa's towering walls.[3]

The monk could not tell what the saint referred to. Benedict added, "Was I not with you when you received the handkerchiefs from the nuns and hid them in your bosom?" The monk fell at the feet of the abbot, repented his foolish act and threw away the handkerchiefs (ch. 19).

[1] Totila, king of the Goths, hearing that Benedict possessed the spirit of prophecy, and desiring to prove him, attired Riggo, his armor-bearer, in the royal garments and sent him with an escort to the monastery. Benedict seeing him coming cried out, "Put off, my son, those borrowed trappings; they are not thine own" (ch. 14).

[2] Totila thereupon went in person to visit the saint, who chided him for his evil deeds, told him that he would enter Rome, that he would pass across the sea (to Sicily), and would reign nine years, but would die upon the tenth, all of which occurred (ch. 15). Totila was held by the Romans of the Eastern empire to be a usurper, a cruel tyrant, etc. His actual character shines brightly in contrast with that of Justinian, against whom his wars were waged.

[3] This prophecy by Benedict was: "Rome shall not be exterminated by the heathen, but, worn out by tempests and whirlwinds and an earthquake, shall decay of itself" (ch. 15). The prediction relates to Totila's project of capturing Rome. Rome was in fact taken by Totila in 546, retaken by Belisarius in 547, taken again by Totila in 549, and retaken by Narses in 552 (Gibbon, ch. 43). On the occasion of its first capture by Totila he actually demolished, it is said, one-third of the walls, and issued a decree that Rome should be changed into a pasture for cattle, but on the remonstrance of Belisarius he spared the city. Gregory insists that Benedict's prophecy was fulfilled (ch. 15).

Grievous the foe to chastise thee for offering gifts at the altar;
Gifts to the altars thou bring'st—grievous the foe to chastise.[1]

It was foreknown that the sheepfolds should be to the heathen delivered;
That same heathen race all of the sheepfolds restores.[2]

Servant, friend of deceit, thou art tempted by serpent alluring;
Not by the serpent entrapped, servant and friend of deceit.[3]

Hush! spirit swollen with pride! Be silent! carp not, for he sees thee!
All things are known to the seer. Hush! spirit swollen with pride![4]

[1] A certain priest possessed of a devil was brought to St. Benedict and healed, but was warned never to exercise the duties of his holy office, or he would be again delivered into the power of the devil. After some years, he neglected the warning and undertook again his sacred functions, whereupon the devil again took possession of him, and did not cease to torment him (ch. 16).

[2] Benedict predicted that his convent should pass into the hands of the Arian Langobards, by whom (after they had become converted to the Catholic faith) Monte Cassino was restored and the whole Benedictine order was greatly favored (ch. 17, see Waitz's note).

[3] A man of high condition sent St. Benedict two flasks of wine but the servant who carried them stole one and hid it. When he delivered the other at the monastery the saint said to him "See, my son, that you don't drink out of the flask you have hidden, but turn it over carefully and you will find what it has inside." The man did so and a serpent came forth. The servant afterwards became brother "Exhilaratus" (ch. 18).

[4] Once when St. Benedict was at supper, a monk who held a lamp in front of the table began silently to reflect in a spirit of pride and to say to himself "Who is this man whom I must attend while he eats and hold his lamp and render him service, and

Famine is driven away by nourishment coming from heaven;
Gloomy hunger of mind also is driven away.[1]

Bodiless, seen by the spirit, all hearts are amazed at thy presence;
Counseling things thou discern'st—hearts with amazement are dumb.[2]

who am I that serve him?" And the saint turned to him at once and began to reproach him earnestly saying, "Cross your heart, brother! What is it you are saying? Cross your heart." And he called the brothers together and directed that the lamp should be taken from his hands and that he should withdraw from this service and sit down quietly. And when the man was asked what he had in his heart, he told them and it was clear to all that nothing could be hidden from St. Benedict (ch. 20).

[1] At another time there was a famine in Campania, and wheat was lacking in the monastery so that only five loaves of bread could be found. And when Benedict saw that the monks were troubled, he strove by modest reproofs to remove their weak fears and promised that on the following day they should have an abundance. And indeed on the next day two hundred measures of flour were found in sacks at the gates of the monastery, sent from God Almighty by an unknown hand. When the monks saw this, they gave thanks to the Lord and now learned that even when in want they should not doubt of abundance (ch. 21).

[2] Benedict had been asked to build a monastery near the city of Tarracina, and sending certain disciples of his thither, he appointed over them a father superior and one second in authority, and promised them that on a certain day he would come and show them in what place they should build the chapel, in what place the refectory, etc. They made due preparation to receive him, and in the night preceding the promised day, he appeared to the father superior and to his superintendent in their dreams and told them minutely where they should build everything. Still they looked for him to come, and when he did not, they went to him to

At the command of thy voice they scorn to bridle their gossip.
Forth from the tombs they flee at the command of thy voice.[1]

They at command of thy voice from the sacred rites are forbidden;
Present they are at these rites at the command of thy voice.[2]

Earth from its open breast drives forth the sepulchered body;
Earth when commanded by thee, keeps in her bosom the corpse.[3]

make inquiry. And he answered "Did I not come as I promised." And they said, "When did you come?" and he replied, "Did I not come to each of you in your dreams and point out to you each of the places? Go and build every building as you heard in your vision." And hearing these things they wondered greatly and built the dwellings as they had been taught in the dream (ch. 22).

[1] Two certain ladies of a religious sisterhood were given to scandalous talk, and Benedict sent them word that if they did not keep guard over their tongues he would excommunicate them. But they continued in their evil ways and died and were buried in church. Afterwards when mass was celebrated, as the officiating deacon, uttered the usual words, "Let those who are excommunicated depart" they were seen to rise from their graves and go out of church (ch. 23).

[2] That is, they rose from their graves at every mass until St. Benedict offered a sacrifice for them, after which they remained in the tomb (id.).

[3] A certain novice who loved his parents more than he ought, one day went home from the monastery without a benediction and died, and when he was buried on the following day, his body was found cast forth from the tomb, and he was buried again. This occured a second time, whereupon they besought St. Benedict in tears that he would deign to bestow his grace upon the body. He gave them the host and told them to place it upon the corpse. When this was done the body remained in the tomb (ch. 24).

Faithless the heart of the dragon that lures the truant to hasten,[1]
While the treacherous fiend stops his prohibited way.

Deadly the foul distemper that stripped the head of its honor;
At his command it departs—noisome and deadly disease![2]

Gold has the holy man none, yet promises all to the needy,
Promises all and draws coins of bright metal from heav'n![3]

Thou to be pitied! With skin by the gall of a serpent discolored!
Wretched one! Sound and whole, quickly thy skin is restored.[4]

[1] A certain monk of restless spirit would not remain in the community, and St. Benedict, annoyed and offended by his importunities, ordered him to depart. When he went out of the monastery a dragon with open mouth stood in his way and attempted to devour him, whereupon he called aloud to the monks to run to his assistance. When they did so they could not see the dragon, but they led the monk back to the monastery trembling with fear. He promised never to depart again and kept his promise (ch. 25).

[2] A boy had been seized with a leprosy so that his hair fell off and his skin was swollen and he could no longer conceal his diseased humors. He was brought by his father to Benedict and speadily healed (ch. 26).

[3] A poor man owed twelve solidi which he was unable to pay and applied in his distress to St. Benedict who said he had not so large a sum, but asked the man to come again in two days. The man returned at the time appointed and thirteen solidi were found on a box in the monastery which was full of grain. St. Benedict gave the whole to the man for his debt and his present needs (ch. 27).

[4] Poison was given to a certain man by his enemy in a potion, and although he did not die, his skin changed color so that he resembled a leper. He was brought to St. Benedict who restored him and removed the discoloration (ch. 27).

Glass is dashed on the rocks and yet they are powerless to break it;
Kept by the rugged rocks, safely the glass is preserved.[1]

Cellarer, why dost thou fear to offer a drop from the oil flask?
Look! the great jars overflow! Cellarer why dost thou fear?[2]

Where is the healing for thee, and why is no hope of salvation;
Thou who dost ever destroy, where is the healing for thee?[3]

Old man worthy of tears! thou fallest by blow of the foeman,
But by a blow thou reviv'st—ancient one worthy of tears![4]

Barbarous thongs encircle the hands that are guiltless of evil,
Hands that escape of themselves, slipping from barbarous thongs.[5]

[1] During a time of famine Agapitus, a sub-deacon of Monte Cassino, applied to St. Benedict for oil. There was then in the monastery only a few dregs at the bottom of a glass bottle. Benedict commanded the cellarer to give what there was, but the latter did not obey the order. When St. Benedict heard this he ordered the bottle thrown out of the window upon the rocks, but the bottle was not broken nor the oil spilled (ch. 28).

[2] He then assembled the whole house in full chapter and reproved the cellarer and when the chapter broke up, a huge jar which had been empty began to overflow with oil (ch. 29).

[3] This probably refers to the "old enemy," whom St. Benedict met in the shape of a mule doctor with his horns and triple foot-fetters (ch. 30).

[4] This evil spirit found an old man drawing water, attacked him, threw him upon the ground and tormented him bitterly. When St. Benedict saw him thus cruelly treated, he gave him merely a box on the ear, and straightway drove out the evil spirit so that it did not dare to return to him (ch. 30).

[5] A certain Goth named Zalla cruelly tormented a peasant to extort money from him. The peasant said he had given all he

That proud man on the horse crying with threatening clamor,
Stretched on the ground he lies, arrogant man on the horse ![1]

Borne on the neck of his sire was the corpse of a child that had perished;
Living, the child was borne forth on the neck of his sire.[2]

possessed to the keeping of St. Benedict, whereupon the Goth bound him with strong cords and made him run in front of his horse to the monastery. They found St. Benedict sitting alone reading, and the Goth in a threatening tone cried out, "Up! up! I say, give this peasant the money you took from him." St. Benedict glanced at the peasant, whereupon the cords broke and left the man free, and the Goth threw himself at the feet of the saint, besought his prayers, and troubled the peasant no more for the money (ch. 31).

[1] This appears to the same miracle as the preceding distich.

[2] A certain peasant brought to the monastery the body of his dead child, and when he found St. Benedict was absent he laid the corpse down at the gate of the monastery and went to look for the saint and when he saw him he began to cry out, "Restore my son! Restore my son!" The man of God paused upon this word saying "Did I take away your son from you?" and the other answered, "He is dead. Come bring him to life" Benedict asked "Why do you impose burdens upon us which we cannot bear?" But the other, whom his great grief overcame, persisted in his petition, swearing that he would not depart unless they restored his son to life. Presently the servant of God asked him saying, "Where is he?" and he answered him, "See, his body lies at the gate of the monastery." When the man of God came with the brethren, he bent his knees and lay down over the body of the child and lifting himself, held his hands to Heaven saying, "Lord consider not my sins but the faith of this man who asks that his son should be brought to life, and do Thou restore to this little body the soul which Thou hast withdrawn." Presently he had finished the words of his prayer and the whole body of the

Love conquers all. By a storm the sister prevails o'er her brother.[1]

Sleep from their eyes was driven—love ever conquereth all.

Lovely with innocent charm, the form of a dove flies upward,
Enters the kingdom of heav'n—lovely with innocent charm![2]

O thou well fitted for God! To thee the whole world is unfolded;[3]

Hidden things then dost prove, O thou well fitted for God!

Flaming the sphere that encircles the just man soaring to heaven,

Flaming the sphere that contains him who with love is consumed.[3]

child was trembling, and under the eyes of all who were present it appeared to throb with a wonderful tremor and shaking, and presently Benedict held the boy by the hand and gave him, living and whole again, to his father (ch. 32).

[1] This refers to Benedict's sister Scolastica who had devoted herself to a religious life. Benedict used to visit her once a year and on one occasion when they had been conversing until late in the evening, his sister entreated him to remain till morning, but he refused. Scolastica then prayed that heaven would interfere and render it impossible for him to leave her. Immediately a furious tempest came on and Benedict was obliged to delay his departure and they held holy conversation through the night. Gregory explains that the sister's prayers were in this case of greater power than the brother's will since she had the greater love. It was a last meeting, as Scolastica died three days afterwards (ch. 33 and 34).

[2] As St. Scolastica died, Benedict was praying in his cell, when suddenly her soul appeared to him ascending to heaven in the form of a dove (ch. 34).

[3] On the night that St. Germanus died, Benedict opened his casement to look at the starry heavens, and beheld a brilliant light,

Thrice called, he is at hand, to be counted a witness of marvels;
Thrice called, he is at hand, dear in the love of the saint.[1]

Brave leader! warning of wars, thou confirmest our hearts by example;[2]
Rushing the first to arms! brave leader warning of wars!

Suitable tokens he gave, life's fellowships gladly forsaking;
Hastening to life in heaven, suitable tokens he gave.[3]

Diligent chanter of psalms, to his lute gave he never a respite;
Died with a song on his lips, diligent chanter of psalms!

Held in the same tomb they whose minds were ever united;[4]
Equal the fame that preserves those whose spirits were one!

brighter than at midday, and the whole world collected, as it were, under a single ray of the sun, and the soul of St. Germanus, bishop of Capua, borne by angels to heaven in a sphere of fire (ch. 35).

[1] Servandus, a deacon and abbot of a monastery in Campania, was visiting Monte Cassino when Benedict saw the fiery sphere, and was in a room in the tower of the monastery just below that occupied by the saint. When Benedict saw the vision, he called Servandus three times loudly by name, so that the latter might be a witness of the marvelous sight. Servandus came, but saw only a little part of the great light. Benedict sent to Capua and found that Germanus had died at the moment of the vision (ch. 35).

[2] Gregory, referring to the establishment by Benedictine of the Rule of the Order, says that in this Rule may be found the model of his own life, "because he could not teach otherwise than he lived" (ch. 36).

[3] He foretold his own death, and told the absent what sign he would give them when his soul should leave his body. On the day of his death he took the sacrament, and held by the monks, stood with hands lifted to heaven, and breathed his last in prayer (ch. 37).

[4] St. Benedict and St. Scolastica were both buried at Monte Cassino. St. Gregory says: "Their bodies were not separated in the sepulcher whose minds were always one in God" (ch. 34).

Splendid appeared the pathway and crowded with gleaming
torches,
Whereon the holy one rose—splendid the path that was seen.[1]

Seeking the stony enclosures, it[2] found salvation from error,
Shunned all error and sin, seeking the cloisters of stone.

Suppliant for a reward, thy servant has given thee verses,
Powerless, an exile, weak, meagre the verses he gives.

May they be fitting I pray, O guide to the paths celestial.
Benedict, father! I pray, may they be fitting for thee.[3]

[1] On the day St. Benedict died, two of his disciples at different places saw the same vision, a path spread with draperies and bright with innumerable torches, which began at the cell of St. Benedict and terminated in heaven, and a venerable old man, all glorious, said to them, "By this pathway St. Benedict, beloved of God, ascends to heaven," so that they knew from the sign what had been predicted (ch. 37).

[2] *I. e.*, the pathway.

[3] The versification of these so-called elegiac epanaleptical distichs requires that the words composing the first two dactyls and the following long syllable at the beginning of the first line (a dactylic hexameter) shall be repeated at the end of the second line (a dactylic pentameter), thus composing the last half of that line. I have not been able to reproduce this extremely artificial verse in every case, but have kept as near to it as possible. This form of versification appears to have been first used in jest by Martial in the 9th Book of his Epigrams, 98, in the verses beginning:

Rumpitur invidia quidam, carissima Juli,
Quod me Roma legit, rumpitur invidia.

Bethmann (p. 278) remarks that it was afterwards employed by Pentadius, Sedulius, Bede and Alcuin, but still later it fell into disuse.

Ebert suggests (Litteratur des Mittelalters, II, 55, note 4) that perhaps the purpose of this poem was to impress upon the memory of the reader a list of the miracles of St. Benedict. A knowledge of each particular miracle seems to have been presupposed.

We have also composed in the following manner a hymn in iambic Archilochian meter containing each of the miracles of the same father:

O brothers all, with eager hearts
Come ye, with fitting melody,
Let us enjoy the pure delights
Of this most famous festival.[1]

Now Father Benedict the guide
Who pointed out the narrow way,
To the bright realms of heaven rose,
Winning rewards for all his toils.

Like a new star he shone, and drove
Away the gloomy clouds of earth.
He from the very dawn of life
Despised the pleasures of the world.

Of mighty power in miracles,
Inspired by breath of the Most High,
He shone in marvels, and foretold
The future happenings of his age.

Since he to many food would bear,
The small bread vessel he repairs;
Sought for himself a narrow cell,
And fires by fires he sternly quenched.

The goblet which the poison bore
He broke by holy sign of cross;
The roaming spirit he constrained
By gentle scourging of the flesh.

[1] The festival of St. Benedict occuring March 21.

The streams gush forth from out the rocks;
The steel returns from out the depths,
Coursing compliant through the waves;
The boy by the saint's garb shuns death.[1]

The hidden poison is revealed;
The bird fulfills the saint's commands;
Destruction overcomes his foe;
The roaring lion perforce departs.[2]

The stubborn mass is moved with ease;[3]
The fire fantastic disappears;
Unto the mangled, health returns;
Sin of the absent stands revealed.

O crafty ruler, thou art caught!
Wicked possessor, thou dost flee![4]
Deeds of the future, ye are known!
Heart, thou dost hide[5] no secret things!

The buildings are laid out in dreams;[6]
The earth casts forth the buried corpse;
The wand'rer is by dragon stayed;
The gold coins fall in rain from heaven.

[1] When Placidus was saved from drowing in the lake he claimed that he had seen the *melote* (monk's garb of skins) of St. Benedict (Dialogues II, ch. 7; see Du Cange).

[2] This probably refers to the heathen worship suppressed by Benedict at Monte Cassino.

[3] This refers to the stone which the devil rendered immovable when the monks were building the monastery.

[4] Totila departed greatly alarmed at Benedict's prophecies (ch. 15).

[5] Read *contegis* for *contigis*.

[6] The monastery of Tarracina.

The glass resists the rugged rocks;
The great jars overflow with oil;
Thy glance releases one in bonds;
Bodies of dead recover life.

The power of such a radiant light
By sister's prayer is overcome;
And who loves more can better sail
His bark than he who sees the pole.

A splendor through night's darkness gleamed
To former ages quite unknown,
Wherein a whole globe is beheld,
And upward drawn by flames, a saint.

Amid these wonders, fame he won
With the soft lute, like nectar sweet;
And for his followers he sketched
Fitly the line of holy life.[1]

To thy disciples, leader strong,
Be present now! we sigh for thee.
Shunning the serpent, we would grow
In virtues following thy steps!

[1] He promulgated the famous Rule of the Order, which became the general law of the monks of the Western Empire, and gave to monasticism its definite form (see ch. 36).

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A. EDEL.

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